MENTAL HYGIENE OF THE SCHOOL CHILD

SYMONDS

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MENTAL HYGIENE
OF THE SCHOOL CHILD

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MENTAL HYGIENE OF THE SCHOOL CHILD

BY

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To

THOMAS D. WOOD

WHO FIRST MADE ME AWARE
OF THE MEANING OF POSITIVE
MENTAL HYGIENE

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PREFACE

This book on mental hygiene is designed primarily for teachers, and the applications that it makes of mental-hygiene principles refer primarily to school situations. Mental hygiene is a new and welcome point of view in education, representing the convergence of several streams of thought. As the name implies, it is a part of the great field of hygiene which emphasizes the well-being of the individual. It crystallizes newer curriculum tendencies which stress adjustment and integration of the personality as important goals of education. It makes possible the conservation of the interests of the " whole child " which the departmentalization of schools has threatened. It provides for the transfer to the school, in part, of the last remnant of child training that has been the exclusive prerogative of the home. It focuses attention anew on the problem of discipline, making application of all that has been gleaned from recent developments in psychology and the study of the personality.

Whereas this book is designed primarily to interpret the meaning of mental hygiene for teachers, the principles discussed, to be really effective, must have been practiced in early childhood and ought to be the possession of every parent as well as of teachers.

This book is unusual in its emphasis on the positive, preventive aspects of mental hygiene. How unusual it is can be realized only after one has made a survey of the treatments of mental hygiene that are at present available.

Principles of mental hygiene have developed out of the knowledge of abnormal psychology and the practice of psychiatry, and mental-hygiene textbooks are generally filled with terms relating to pathological forms of behavior and thinking. Unlike other aspects of hygiene, mental hygiene traditionally places more stress on how to correct poor mental adjustments or how to cure mental disorders than on how to prevent bad mental habits from arising. As related to education, mental hygiene has practically devoted its attention to the remedial treatment of the problem child. It is believed, then, that the positive suggestions contained in this book fill a need that has increasingly been felt.

Mental hygiene within the last three or four years has caught the imagination of educators as a touchstone that can correct the overspecialization in subject matter that has grown up with our departmentalized schools. It should penetrate to every corner of the school. Mental hygiene is not something that should primarily be taught in a class but should be the guide in all of the human relations of the school. The mental-hygiene point of view, with its emphasis on understanding the motives which underlie conduct and its attempt to effect adjustment to the factors in the situation, is rapidly displacing older ideas of discipline.

The writer first became impressed with the significance for education of this new point of view while serving as chairman of the subcommittee on mental hygiene in schools of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. The original impetus for the present treatment came from Dr. Thomas D. Wood, who urged upon me the desirability of preparing a brief and direct manual showing the implications of mental hygiene for education. Much of the material has been developed in connection with a course which I have given under the title of " Adolescent Adjustments," and acknowledgment is extended at this time to the members of this class, who have contributed ideas and illustrations through successive semesters which have been incorporated in this book.

Special acknowledgments should be given to the publishers of the *School Review* and the *Harvard Teachers Record* for the privilege of using portions of my own articles which appeared in these journals. I am indebted to Superintendent Carleton W. Washburne of Winnetka for his permission to include in the chapter entitled " Discipline " three case studies which were published in the *School Review.* The six case studies which constitute the final chapter of this book have been made by members of my class on adolescent adjustments. I am indebted to G. E. Franz, head of Department of Science, Linden Senior High School, Westfield, N. J.; James W. Richardson, Vice Principal and Counselor of Boys, Allentown High School, Penn.; Hubert H. Mills, Assistant Professor of Education, University of Colorado; James Kirk Seaton, Alexander Hamilton Junior High School, Elizabeth, N. J.; Dorothy M. Bailey, Henry St. Visiting Nurse Association, New York, N. Y.; and Estelle Davis, Erasmus Hall High School, Brooklyn, N. Y., for permission to include these studies, which were prepared by them.

CHAPTER I

THE IMPORTANCE OF MENTAL HYGIENE IN THE SCHOOL PROGRAM

If one traces back through the development of our schools, he may see a definite evolution of the meaning of education and its place and function in society. Long ago schools prepared for specialized vocations, such as the ministry or the law. More recently the curriculum has broadened, but the emphasis has continued to be on the acquisition of knowledge and the development of skills which would make the individual more efficient in making his way through life.

More recently still we have seen the inadequacies of this limited concept of education, which is based only on learning from books or acquiring manual skill. An individual who is to be happy and contented as a child and able to take his place as a well-adapted member of society must also acquire certain habits of conduct and thinking. These are as much a part of his education as are the older school subjects of reading and arithmetic. In the past, in a more static society, these matters of behavior have more or less taken care of themselves under the watchful eye of home and church. Today, in a civilization which is much more complex, these matters of behavior and conduct cannot be left to themselves but require planned direction on the part of those who are responsible for the education of the young. This is a protection not only for society, but also for the individual, and it prepares him for a better-adjusted and happier existence.

There is nothing quite so pitiful as the queer, neurotic, hysterical person who never can quite face reality as he meets it but solves his problems in ways which not only fail to give him satisfaction, but also actually cause worry and unhappiness. On every side we see people whose behavior patterns, which are as much a product of education as anything else that is learned, are inadequate. These are the timid and retiring, the bullies and tyrants, the delinquents and criminals. The school can no longer consider itself merely as an academic institution where children learn reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and history, which traditionally have made up the subject matter of the school's curriculum. The whole child comes to school, and the school is responsible for the child as a whole while in school — not just the academic child but the child who must learn to live as a social being in a social environment.

Mental health should be thought of as a phase of general health. Health means the normal functioning of the body in its full vigor. Every organ of the body should be in a state of well-being and should function in coöperation with the rest of the body to form a whole integrating organism. The nervous system is one part of the body; its function is to form those connections between the individual and his environment which will enable him successfully to adapt himself to his environment. In this way we depend upon our nervous system for those skills which enable us to get food, to seek a mate, to build our houses, to provide us with clothing, to give us our enjoyment and recreation, and to carry on all the other multifarious activities of living. When the nervous system is in its full vigor and when the particular connections formed are habits and skills which enable the organism to make satisfactory adjustments to its surroundings, we have a state of mental health.

On the other hand, if the nervous system is deranged or its efficiency impaired so that it does not properly function in enabling the organism to make adjustments to its surroundings in an integrated human fashion, we have a state of mental disease or illness. This condition of the nervous system includes not only, for example, disease, inflammation of the tissues, and the presence of bacteria, but also the conditions and results of learning and fatigue. In short, if the habits and skills that an individual has acquired are inadequate to keep him in the most satisfactory adjustment to his environment, we have a state of poor mental health.

In this adjustment to the environment the parts of the reacting mechanism must work in such coöperation that the individual throws himself whole-heartedly into whatever activities he engages in and does not worry when at times he fails because his responses have been inadequate. With this broad viewpoint, it is seen that mental health depends upon a person's total education in so far as his education is meant to help him to meet his problems adequately.

Mental health may be approached from different points of view.

In the first place, it may be thought of as *adjustment.* A person is well adjusted if he can meet the various situations which he faces day by day adequately and efficiently. If a person's habits and skills enable him to satisfy his needs, to fill his wants, and to give him satisfaction, then he is adjusted. If, in meeting a new situation, a person is able to cope with it adequately by his intelligence, in so far he is well adjusted. The unadjusted individual is one whose habits and skills are inadequate to meet the demands of the situation or who lacks the ability to solve the problems which are met in the course of everyday living. Such an individual falls back on stereotyped methods of behavior, tends to react emotionally, and displays various mechanisms of behavior signifying withdrawal from reality. These blind-alley adjustments are never satisfactory, and they prevent the individual from exercising his full powers or from taking part in the social group as a full-functioning member.

Adjustment and character are sometimes thought of as opposed to each other.* On the one hand, character is thought of in terms of standards which society holds desirable in the individual. A person has a worthy character if he has such traits as honesty, dependability, and coöperativeness; but these often require considerable restraint and inhibition by the individual when he is in a situation where these traits would run counter to his impulses. On the other hand, mental hygienists have a tendency to preach the lessening of restraints and inhibitions as the best way for an individual to make peace with himself in the interests of adjustment. Many character educationists neglect the psychology of the individual and fail to reckon with the strong impulses and desires which often conflict with social standards. Mental hygienists often flout social standards and conventions in favor of freer expression on the part of the individual. Individuals have been taught to regain their mental stability by refusing to be worried or disturbed by social standards and conventions. Mental hygienists therefore have, on the whole, neglected the social point of view of education. This statement of opposed points of view does injustice to leaders in both the mental-hygiene and character-education groups who realize that true adjustment includes social adjustment, and that one is not prepared to become a worthy member of society without personal integration. This opposition between social adjustment and individual adjustment is unnecessary; the most wholesome and satisfactory form of adjustment is one which reaches an integration between these two points of view. Often the individual, in giving free rein to his own passions, although he may reach a momentary satisfaction, is failing to meet reality. A proper balance must be reached between recognition of the standards imposed by society and the need for personal freedom and relaxation from worry and strain. Fundamentally the interests of mental hygienists and character educationists are identical.

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* See Wickman, E. K. — *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes;* The Commonwealth Fund, 1928, for a discussion of this distinction.

Mental health may also be thought of in terms of *integration*.* The individual who is striving to bring about an adjustment between himself and his surroundings is behaving more or less as an individual. If he enters upon his efforts whole-heartedly and with a singleness of purpose, the entire organism concentrates its energies toward a single end. This wholeheartedness and the ability to face reality with singleness of purpose lead to the integration of the personality; and until one achieves this integration, his mental health cannot be considered complete or robust. Man has a greater capacity for adjusting himself to his environment than have any of the lower animals. This very adaptability makes it possible for man to act in piecemeal fashion, and the possibility of acting inconsistently constitutes one of the greatest dangers to true mental health. The individual who has behavior patterns in one situation which are in conflict with his patterns in another situation lacks the true integration that the perfectly mentally healthy person should have. Hence another ideal of mental hygiene is to carry through the consistency of behavior in all situations. This is meant to include not only such definite matters as personal honesty and integrity, but also what is referred to as the integrated personality as opposed to the split or divided personality.

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* See Burnham, W. H. — *The Normal Mind;* D. Appleton-Century Company, 1924, for a discussion of the significance of integration as a mental-hygiene principle.

Mental hygiene is of greater importance today than at any other time in the world's history. When man lived a simpler, out-of-door life, when the baffling situations that arose were the kind that he could solve with his hands, his tools, and his skills, life had a certain directness and simplicity about it that the human organism was adapted to cope with successfully. However, with our increasing civilization and industrialism and with the growth of cities, life, particularly social life, has taken on a complexity which makes satisfactory adaptation more difficult. Life has speeded up so that we are moving more quickly, we ride or fly more quickly through space, and we have many more activities in which we engage daily. Our modern machine age carries along with it an increase of noise, which is a constant drain on vital resources. This high level of stimulation and excitement day after day continues in a way in which it has never done before in the world's history. Social relationships are more complex and their stability less secure than at any time before. Family ties and other social ties are made and broken more easily. Industry has increased rather than lessened its variations in output; consequently, the average man feels less economically secure in his daily life than ever before. It is perhaps more terrifying to face the instability of the present industrial order than to face the possibility of flood or drought in an agricultural civilization. The threat of war, which is always in the background of modern life, is another insecurity. In one way or another the economic and industrial developments of the past generation have placed added strains on the business of living, which make it less easy for the average man to adjust himself with composure.

It has been estimated* that one out of twenty-two persons becomes a patient in a hospital for mental diseases in a generation or lifetime, and† that the chances of a white person fifteen years old contracting a psychosis or a severe incapacitating neurosis during a lifetime, whether sent to a hospital for mental diseases or not, are somewhere near one in ten. These tendencies toward instability are increasing, as evidenced by a growth in the attendance at mental hospitals greater than the growth of the general population. Increased attendance might imply that greater care is being taken of mental cases than formerly, although the increase is generally believed to be due largely to the greater stress and tension of modern life with an increase in inadequate adjustments to our modern machine age. All these persons go through our school systems. Those whose constitutions or early habit systems render them unstable and unable to meet adequately the ever-growing demands placed on them probably show symptoms of disturbance during their school careers. The school should not dodge the responsibility of discovering these pupils and doing what it can to educate them toward adequate adjustment.

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* Pollock, H. N., and Malzberg, B. — "Expectation of Mental Disease," *Mental Hygiene*, 13: 132–163, 1929.

† Ogburn, W. F., and Winston, E. — "The Frequency and Probability of Insanity," *American Journal of Sociology*, 34: 822–831, March, 1929.

PROBLEMS AND EXERCISES FOR DISCUSSION

1. What are some of the difficult situations that a child of six must face?

2. What are some of the difficult situations that an adolescent must face?

3. Does good adjustment mean conformity? Reform? Rebellion? Try to define good adjustment in a way that will harmonize these various attempts at adjustment.

4. Discuss the following methods of adjustment from the point of view of the various outcomes likely for the individual concerned and others who may be affected:
    - (*a*) Cheating in an examination which one knows he stands little chance of passing
    - (*b*) A tall girl trying to avoid being conspicuous by stooping
    - (*c*) A boy who fails to attain success in school and who is socially criticized at home playing with children younger than himself whom he can "boss"

(*d*) A boy who comes from a very poor family spending time in the study hall imagining what he would do if he had a million dollars

(*e*) A girl who falls into fits of weeping and sobbing when a teacher speaks a little sharply to her and inquires why her work was not in on time

5. Give illustrations of pupils whom you have known who have had " conflicts," that is, desires to do things that they believe to be wrong or of which their parents or teachers would disapprove. Do you know how these conflicts originated?

6. Tell what this statement means: " Mental hygiene demands that difficulties be faced as problems to be solved rather than as emergencies to be met."

7. What is the relation of habit to good adjustment?

8. Can a person be well integrated who adopts poor methods of adjustment?

CHAPTER II

POSITIVE MENTAL HYGIENE

Most of the people who have developed our principles of mental hygiene have approached the problem from the negative point of view. Their approach has been through the problem child, the child whose education has in some way been inadequate and who has developed undesirable forms of behavior. The mental hygienist usually thinks of his field in terms of such problem children, the devices for helping them, and the treatment and remediation. The point of view is well expressed by Crawford and Menninger* in *The Healthy-Minded Child:* "Having once accepted the existence of mental health and ill health, we must, if we are going to keep our children's minds healthy, learn to recognize the symptoms of mental *ill*† health."

Most of the mental hygienists of today have been physicians or psychiatrists; and their point of view is traditionally that of the medical man who is more used to diagnosing ills and disabilities and suggesting forms of treatment than he is to planning positive and prophylactic measures. The point of view of people who are interested in mental hygiene in schools should be that of learning to recognize the symptoms of mental *good* health. Educators should be concerned first and foremost with understanding the conditions under which good mental health thrives and should be interested in setting up a school organization and program which are conducive to good mental health. The educator unwillingly admits the presence of problem children. His primary concern is with positive educational measures, and he is only secondarily concerned with remedial measures.

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* Crawford, N. A., and Menninger, K. A. — *The Healthy-Minded Child*, 15; Coward-McCann, Inc., 1930.

† The italics are those of the author of the present volume.

To make an analogy, in teaching children to learn to read, educators take children who have none of the skills of reading and by skillful exercises and encouragement help them to develop these skills. If through faulty teaching, unhealthy attitudes, or repressions or inhibitions of one kind or another some children fail to learn to read, the school is also interested in reforming their habits and thereby making it possible for them to continue their learning. Children with reading problems are not the first consideration of the teacher. They must necessarily be recognized and remedial treatment provided, but the school does not base its organization primarily upon caring for these pupils. In like manner, good mental health should be approached by the school as a positive obligation; but if some children develop mental snarls, these are not to be neglected, neither are they to be made first in the school's interests.

With the democratizing of education and the bringing of pupils of all levels of ability and aptitude into the schools and with the increase of the subjects in the curriculum, there has been a growing tendency toward specialization in schools. The old-fashioned schoolmaster who taught all subjects to a given group of children is fast disappearing. Even now the junior high school, extending down to the seventh grade, tends to be departmentalized; and the pupils go to a variety of teachers for language, mathematics, social studies, science, arts, and physical education. In the larger schools there are specialists to care for extracurricular activities. This tendency to specialize is making its way even into the elementary schools. The growing specialization of teaching has the unfortunate outcome of leaving no one responsible for the child as an individual. Each teacher sees the child as a possible learner of reading or geography or algebra or history. No one pays much attention to his study habits, to the way in which his time is budgeted, to the regularity and thoroughness with which work is done, to his emotional adjustments, and to many other phases of personal life. No one is responsible for the child as a growing personality, whereas his social and personal habits and adjustments are perhaps the most important educational outcome of the growing years.

The curriculum in the school of the past has tended to force emphasis on the academic child — the child who must learn the school subjects. Children are not primarily academic children. Learning things from books and in the classroom is a form of behavior which we artificially impose on children as being a necessary adjunct to their preparations for adult life. Children are normally social creatures, and the formation of their habits of social adjustment is considerably more important than their learning of spelling and arithmetic. Consequently, if schools are to give attention to the whole child, some provision must be made for guiding the formation of their habits of social adjustment.

When problem children have been studied in school, it has been found that some of the difficulty is due to things within the school itself. Children have developed undesirable characteristics because of the group in which they have been placed. Again, unsympathetic teachers have created bad attitudes in pupils, or pupils have found school unsatisfactory because of the narrowness of the traditional curriculum. Children have been found with personality problems which social life and recreation could well help to remedy. Where the school has been at fault in the case of some one individual child, other children are usually affected; so that, instead of treating each problem as a separate case, the adequacy of the school in caring for the adjustments of individual pupils can usually be improved. One discovers the lacks in our present school organization for creating positive mental health by studying the types of disorders found in problem children. One cannot readjust the school program and organization for one child without having the new conditions affect many other children. Consequently, the program of mental hygiene for schools touches every phase of its organization and program.

PROBLEMS AND EXERCISES FOR DISCUSSION

1. What is meant by the statement, " There are no problem children, only children who have problems "?
2. What is the relation of mental hygiene to medicine? To education? To psychology? To psychiatry?
3. Should all difficulties be removed from children? Should a child ever be presented with difficulties? Formulate a general principle which can be used as a guide in deciding what difficulties a child should be permitted to face. How does education enter this problem?
4. Can children develop character if they are not at the same time made to face difficulties?
5. Elaborate the statement, " The program of mental hygiene for schools touches every phase of its organization and program."

CHAPTER III

LEARNING

Much of the learning that takes place in the acquisition of modes of conduct and habits of thinking is similar to that which is called, in technical psychology, conditioning.* Classical experiments with this form of learning have been performed on dogs by Pavlov, the Russian physiologist. A brief description of Pavlov's method is helpful in understanding this form of learning because the conditions under which the experimental work was carried out were so simple and clear-cut. The particular response that Pavlov used was the secretion of the salivary glands. A simple operation was performed on the dog so that the salivary gland drained into a receptacle and the amount of saliva secreted could be accurately measured. The gland can be caused to secrete naturally by bringing food within the range of the dog's senses so that he can see and smell it. This flow of saliva to the presence of food is the *unconditioned reaction.* The experiment consisted of ringing a bell at the same time that the food was presented to the dog. After there had been a large number of simultaneous presentations of the food and ringing of the bell, the bell was rung alone. It was then found that just the ringing of the bell would cause the saliva to flow. In short, the dog had learned to react by a flow of saliva to the sound of the bell.

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* One may find the original theory of the conditioned reaction in Pavlov, I. P. — *Conditioned Reflexes;* Oxford University Press, 1927.

A systematic psychology built on the conditioned reflex under the heading " Redintegration " may be found in Hollingworth, H. L. — *Psychology: Its Facts and Principles;* D. Appleton-Century Company, 1928.

A briefer discussion may be found in Perrin, F. A. C., and Klein, D. — *Psychology, Its Methods and Principles;* Henry Holt and Company, 1926, 1932.

See Cowan, E. E., and Carlson, A. D. — *Bringing Up Your Child;* Duffield and Company, 1930, for a theory of child training based on conditioning.

Similar learning takes place every day in human beings. The infant who has had his milk in a certain cup learns to greet the cup with attitudes of interest and expectation, cries with glee when it comes into sight, and is hungry. If the young baby cries because of some distress and his mother runs and picks him up and soothes him, he soon learns that crying is associated with picking up and attention. Later he will use this device to get the attention and rewards which he very much wants. It has been found that children who have been frightened, perhaps by the loud barking of a dog, may later be frightened by dogs which do not bark or by toy dogs or by woolly or fuzzy objects. One child who was given castor oil in coffee, as a means of making the castor oil palatable, found that in later life he had acquired a strong distaste for coffee. In general, we often find that, wherever two incidents occur together, the response that normally is given to one of the objects or events is acquired by the other object or event; thus long chains of response become learned, and we acquire our habits and feelings in adult life.

This treatment of conditioning does not completely describe the learning that takes place in forming habits of conduct. Thorndike * has shown that it does not necessarily follow that after two stimuli have occurred together the presence of one stimulus will of itself bring about the reaction which heretofore has been attached to the other stimulus. Thorndike's experiments indicate that another factor is at work, which he has termed the *law of effect.* In brief, the law of effect states that, when a reaction is followed by satisfaction, the connection between the reaction and its stimulus becomes stronger. This law of effect is well known to us in everyday affairs. We learn most readily that which has particular value or significance or meaning to us, that which we enjoy and which satisfies our aims and desires. To trace down all the types of satisfactions that facilitate learning would require many pages. Animal trainers use this law in teaching dogs or horses tricks by tossing out food after successful performances of the tricks. Children learn most readily when they are given some praise, when an activity is made pleasant and enjoyable, when they are rewarded in some way for what they do, or when what is learned has social recognition. In fact, the many times during the day in which we get subtle and slight amounts of satisfaction would be difficult to enumerate. Success or failure when a response is made and the rightness or wrongness of responses as judged by social standards have much to do with the sureness and ease of learning. In short, the particular connections that are to be formed depend in a large part on the degree to which they satisfy drives which have previously been initiated.

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* Thorndike's theories may be found in Thorndike, E. L. — *Human Learning;* D. Appleton-Century Company, 1931.

The Gestalt psychology* tends to emphasize even more strongly the importance of meaning and relationships in learning. We learn things that " fit in," as it were, with the total situation of which they are a part. If we think of an individual as having some goal in mind, some purpose toward which he is directed, then that is learned which is recognized as contributing to the accomplishment of this purpose. The Gestalt psychology emphasizes the relationships, the meaning, and the significance of situations as aids in learning.

PROBLEMS AND EXERCISES FOR DISCUSSION

1. Give illustrations of habits which you have observed in children (or in yourself or other adults) that seem to be similar in character to the response of Pavlov's dog to the bell.

2. In what ways does the theory of the conditioned reaction seem too simple to account for all human learning?

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* Application of the Gestalt theory to problems of learning and education may be found in Watson, G. B. — " Wholes and Parts in Education," *Teachers College Record*, 34 : 117–133, November, 1932.

3. What is success? What is failure?

4. Thorndike in recent experiments has assumed that saying " right " and " wrong " following certain reactions is the equivalent of reward and punishment. In what way is the saying of " right " a reward? How did satisfaction come to be attached to the realization that one has done his task correctly?

5. Read about the principles of the Gestalt psychology in some textbook of psychology (cf. Edna Heidbreder — *Seven Psychologies;* D. Appleton-Century Company, 1933) and enumerate the applications to education.

CHAPTER IV

DRIVES

One who wishes to understand the nature of behavior, the situations that satisfy us and the conditions under which a person remains dissatisfied and annoyed, must understand the nature of the fundamental human drives. Probably all drives can be traced back eventually to states or conditions within the body or to disturbances within or on the surface of the body. Many psychologists have attempted lists of the fundamental human drives, and these lists differ in the items which they include. The following list derived from Tolman,* who is a student of human motivation, is a fundamental list: appetites — hunger, thirst, fatigue demands, excretion demands, sensitive-zone demands; aversions — fear, pugnacity.

Of these, hunger is the simplest one to understand. Physiologists who have studied hunger have discovered that, when the stomach is empty of food, certain rhythmical, kneading movements are produced by the smooth muscles which form the walls of the stomach. This muscular activity in the empty stomach is extremely annoying and produces what is known as hunger pangs, with which we are all more or less familiar. These hunger pangs are so annoying that they cause the organism to arouse itself to search for food. This physiological process occurs in all organisms, from the lowliest up to and including man. All animals are periodically driven to the search for food by the demands of hunger. This drive, which can be counted upon to act regularly and periodically day after day, is a fundamental cause of much of human activity.

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* Tolman, E. C. — " The Nature of the Fundamental Drives," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 20 : 349–358, 1926.

Other drives mentioned in the above list can also be traced back to some physiological cause. Certain of them, however, may not originate from stimuli within the body but may arise from stimuli without. A bright light or a loud noise leads to turning away or shutting the eyes or holding the hands over the ears. A pin prick on the skin causes one to draw away, and a fly or mosquito on the skin will cause one to twitch the skin or brush the insect away.

In man these drives have no preformed mode of gaining satisfaction. From earliest infancy there is constant learning going on, giving the infant more and more skill and facility in satisfying his imperious demands. Woodworth,* in a little book called *Dynamic Psychology*, points out the lines or streams of behavior, often long drawn out and complicated, which he calls *preparatory reactions*, that eventually lead to *consummatory reactions*, which alleviate the fundamental physiological irritation. These preparatory reactions of discovering and approaching food and similarly of obtaining that which will satisfy other demands make up the bulk of our life activity. Sometimes these preparatory reactions become so fundamental that they acquire a certain driving force within themselves and partake of the nature of the fundamental drives. Consequently, it is often difficult, if not impossible, to trace back much of our behavior to the original drive which started it in the first instance. Trying to trace our behavior to the fundamental physiological drives does not give us much practical guidance toward an understanding of the nature of human behavior. A list of drives which helps us understand the social behavior of people, particularly growing boys and girls, is found in the following excerpt from Watson and Spence: *

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* Woodworth, R. S. — *Dynamic Psychology;* Columbia University Press, 1918.

1. Human beings tend to behave in ways involving movement from physical deprivations (pain, hunger, sex demands, need for sleep), toward physical well-being, euphoria.
2. Human beings tend to behave in ways involving movement from failure, thwarting, disappointment, toward success, mastery, and achievement.
3. Human beings tend to behave in ways involving movement from being ignored or looked down upon, toward being looked up to, recognized, approved, admired.

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* Watson, G. B., and Spence, R. B. — *Educational Problems for Psychological Study*, 326; The Macmillan Company, 1930.

For an earlier list of four fundamental human drives see Thomas, W. I. — *The Unadjusted Girl*, Chap. I; Little, Brown and Company, 1923.

4. Human beings tend to behave in ways involving movement from being unwanted toward being loved and given intimacy, tenderness, and a sense of belonging.
5. Human beings tend to behave in ways involving movement from being worried, anxious, fearful, toward release, security, and peace of mind.
6. Human beings tend to behave in ways involving movement from being bored, finding life dull and monotonous, toward adventure, new experience, and zestful activity.

This list of drives does not provide us with full understanding of the driving forces in a given individual. For each of us, our interests and motives are extremely specific and individual. If it is success that we are craving, it is always a particular kind of success, whether it be success on the track team, in tennis, as a student, as a collector of stamps, or as a maker of model airplanes. If it is being admired that we crave, it is being admired by some certain individual, father or mother, brother or sister, teacher or playmates; or it is being admired for certain specific reasons, such as possessing good looks, wearing attractive clothes, having a well-developed body, or being able to dance well. If we crave love in the sense of belonging, it is the sense of belonging to a home and a particular home at that, of belonging to a school and a particular class in the school, or of being wanted by a particular club or gang. If it is security or peace of mind that we crave, it is security from failing in school, having to go to the dentist, or losing our pocketbook. If we desire new experiences and adventures, that again tends to assume rather definite aspects, such as a visit to a near-by city, a trip to an amusement park, going up in an airplane, or going to some party that the rest of our crowd is going to. One can never fully understand the behavior of any individual without understanding specifically the wants, cravings, desires, and wishes that motivate his behavior day by day.

Drive and habit are in part indistinguishable. The dog that gives the salivary response to the ringing of the bell when food is also presented may appear to have an interest in the ringing of the bell. Human beings in like manner respond to alarm clocks and other signals that are not a part of their native repertoire of responses. Many of our responses are acquired. For instance, very few of the collections that children or adults make consist of objects that represent innate or fundamental interests. Habit can assume a driving or impulsive quality. A teacher who wishes to discover motives to employ in school work can depend upon previously acquired habits for driving power. One is always more ready to attend to things with which he is partly familiar.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF DRIVES WHICH MAY BE FOUND IN CHILDREN

A. Success
    1. In school studies
        (*a*) Mastery of lessons
            (1) Ability to finish assigned tasks correctly

        (2) Special achievement in class work
            (a) Poster selected in art class for display
            (b) Making something that works, such as a toy in shop
    (*b*) Passing an examination
    (*c*) School marks
2. In athletic or physical achievement
3. In social relations
    (*a*) Social popularity
    (*b*) Making friendly contacts
4. In leadership
5. In special talents or hobbies
    (*a*) Illustration
        (1) Markmanship in rifle shooting
6. In extracurricular activities
    (*a*) In debating
    (*b*) Having leading part in school play
7. In making money
8. In perfect attendance at school
9. In personal appearance

B. Approval

1. By whom
    (*a*) Teacher
    (*b*) Parent
    (*c*) Friends
2. For what
    (*a*) Personal appearance
    (*b*) Conduct
        (1) Generosity
    (*c*) Accomplishments
        (1) Athletics
        (2) Work as student
        (3) As an officer in school organization or as leader

  - (*d*) Remaining in school
  - (*e*) Some special possession

C. Sense of belonging

  1. Clubs, gangs, etc.
  2. Teachers
  3. Parents
  4. Home
  5. Opposite sex
  6. School
  7. Friends
  8. Same sex
  9. Athletic team
  10. Nation

D. Security

  1. Home
     - (*a*) Parental love
  2. In school work
     - (*a*) Teacher
  3. In friendships
  4. Economic
  5. Honor of the school
  6. Personal appearance, clothes, etc.
  7. Justice from school authorities
  8. In athletic ability
  9. Social activities
  10. In choice of a career
  11. In general ability
  12. In doing work one is fitted for
  13. In owning something
  14. Good relationship between the school and home
  15. In not being hungry
  16. In holding office in class or society
  17. Opposite sex

18. Higher education (preparing for college, etc.)
19. In religion
20. National security

E. New experience

1. Travel
2. Romance
3. Reading and movies
4. Truancy
5. Adventure
6. New friends
7. Social activities
8. Athletics
9. Personal appearance
10. Hobbies
11. First or new job
12. New school work
13. Exploration
14. Mental growth
15. Change in school routine
    (*a*) Unexpected school holidays
16. Earning one's own money
17. Invention
18. Leaving school
19. Leadership

PROBLEMS AND EXERCISES FOR DISCUSSION

1. Are success and being approved and admired the same thing? Can one exist apart from the other? Do boys play football for the applause and glory or because they enjoy the activity, the game, the contest, and the possibility of winning?

2. What do adolescent boys and girls have to worry about?

3. What can be done in the algebra classroom to prevent monotony and boredom and to make the work of the class more interesting? In French? In general science? In civics?

4. It is said that much of the maladjustment of childhood is due to lack of security and affection. What can a teacher do to help give a child a greater sense of security?

5. If everyone's wants are specific, where do they come from? Trace the development of the satisfaction at some specific kind of success in some pupil whom you know.

6. What kind of success do pupils most crave?

7. How would you go about discovering the particular drives that a boy or girl possesses? Why is it important to be able to do this?

CHAPTER V

MECHANISMS OF ADJUSTMENT IN THE SATISFACTION OF DRIVES*

Trial and error. The learning that takes place by means of which our drives become satisfied on the lowest level is termed trial and error behavior. At any given time an animal has a certain repertory of responses. These have been learned as reactions to specific situations or stimuli. In any given situation some one or another aspect of that situation calls up its appropriate response, and usually this puts the organism on the road toward satisfying some want that originated the response in the first place. However, an animal often gets in a baffling situation, in which case the usual response does not satisfy; then there must be a more or less random trial of various responses which one or another aspect of the situation can call forth, until some response seems favorable and helps lead toward a consummatory reaction.

The most favored illustration of this sort of learning may be found in the animal experiments made by

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* See Symonds, P. M. — *The Nature of Conduct*, Chap. 13; The Macmillan Company, 1928.

For another discussion of methods of making adjustments, see Gates, A. I. — *Psychology for Students of Education*, Revised Edition, Chap. 7; The Macmillan Company, 1930.

Thorndike* on cats and other animals. A cat confined in a cage the door of which can be opened only by turning a button will try a variety of methods of escape in order to reach food placed outside the cage. It will prowl around, scratch, and claw until by chance in its random activity it touches the button, turns it, and automatically escapes. It is found that, if the same situation is repeated, the time necessary for making the appropriate response is decreased until finally the response is made by the animal immediately on being put in the cage. This sort of learning, that is, trial and error learning, is the lowest form of learning to produce satisfaction in response to some drive.

The same sort of learning may be seen in the case of school children. A child entering a strange classroom has the problem of making friends with the other children. Depending on previous habit patterns, a boy faced with this problem may show off, fight with another boy, become bashful, ask another child a question, or propose to another pupil that they do something together. In short, he will fall back on tricks and reactions that he has used successfully on previous occasions to make adjustments in this new and strange situation.

Application of intelligence. The typical human response is to apply intelligence to the situation. This means, among other things, that man has the capacity for employing language or other symbolic responses, so that, instead of actively trying one or another of the possibilities in the situation, a person can sit down and think and thereby more easily run over the various alternatives. Where experience has been ample and intelligence is sufficient, the person can solve baffling problems or meet trying situations most effectively and economically by quietly applying thought to the issue in order to decide what action to take.

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* Thorndike, E. L. — *Animal Intelligence*, 35; The Macmillan Company, 1911. Now out of print.

Allowing drives to lapse. There are, however, other ways of meeting baffling situations. For instance, one may let the drive lapse. It is not possible to brook some of our drives in this way. For instance, one cannot forego satisfying the demands of hunger, for hunger is preëmptory in its requirements. However, some of the secondary drives or issues can simply lapse through changing the situation. The little child who very much wishes some toy or candy on passing the shop window feels his deprivation keenly at the moment, but the want soon passes away when his attention becomes distracted to something else.

Deferring satisfaction. Drives may be deferred and their satisfaction postponed. The sex drive is a good example of an urge that must be deferred under social customs. This deferment can usually best be accomplished by turning the attention to the satisfaction of other drives or even by attaining substitute gratification through harmless enjoyments, sports, music, art, or religion.

Various mechanisms.* Students of psychology have also recognized a number of curious mechanisms by means of which an individual meets his wishes by roundabout methods, sometimes by substituting in place of the original response a response that somehow seems to serve the same ends or by other circuitous ways reaching the craved satisfaction. For instance, if a child in school is confronted with a problem in arithmetic which he cannot do, instead of thinking out the situation he may try to copy the solution and answer from some other child. These mental mechanisms describe our behavior and thinking at every turn. Often they represent the most adequate method of adjustment possible; at other times they represent such a departure from reality as to be really harmful. A survey of these mental mechanisms is most helpful in understanding some of the bad mental habits into which everyone is likely to fall.

Identification. When one is searching for a way of reaching satisfactions or of escaping from annoyances or deprivations, it is only natural that one should cast around to see how other people are solving the same problem. For the little child it is most natural that he should look to his father and mother or his brothers or sisters to get clues as to how to behave. His elders have already learned to get what they want. They win his admiration for their strength and skill and ability. Consequently the child will take the same sort of stride as his father, will use the same expressions as his mother, will attempt to throw a ball or hold a bat as his brother does. In the older days this was called imitation, but psychologists have definitely proved that imitation, as a mechanical tendency to copy other people, does not exist. *Identification* is a satisfactory descriptive term by which to call this tendency. Usually this way of behaving is quite unconscious. We assume mannerisms, ways of dressing, modes of speech, even ways of thinking from those with whom we associate and are usually quite unconscious that we are doing so.

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* Excellent references for further and more extended discussion of these mechanisms are the following:

Menninger, K. A. — *The Human Mind*, Chap. 4; F. S. Crofts and Company, 1931.
Symonds, P. M. — *The Nature of Conduct*, Chap. 13; The Macmillan Company, 1928.
Morgan, J. J. B. — *Psychology of the Unadjusted School Child;* The Macmillan Company, 1924.

A technical review of these mechanisms may be found in Healy, W., Bronner, A. F., and Bowers, A. M. — *The Structure and Meaning of Psychoanalysis;* Alfred A. Knopf, 1930.

Illustrations:

1. Girl adopting the manner of hairdress used by her favorite movie star
2. Boy adopting the language, idioms, slang, and manner of dress used by his older brother who is attending college
3. Student who is impressed by a certain form and style of writing used by a favorite teacher adopting the form and style as his own
4. Boy insisting on wearing glasses although he really does not need them
5. Student interested in singing adopting the mannerisms of his favorite artist

6. The northerner adopting a southern accent
7. Boy walking like Charlie Chaplin
8. Boy carrying small clay pipe in his mouth
9. Girl rocking doll as mother rocks baby
10. Boy adopting the mannerisms of a favorite football, basketball, or baseball hero

Compensation. Another mechanism by means of which people achieve satisfactions in roundabout ways is called *compensation.* Frequently a person is thwarted by bodily deformities or inabilities in obtaining some satisfactions that others achieve. A child who is fat or short or who has some scar or is lame or sickly or dull is naturally handicapped in getting the success and the attention that other children not so handicapped achieve. Children try to compensate for these handicaps by overdevelopment of more favorable capacities. The child who cannot succeed with work in school is apt to turn to athletics or saving money or being popular. On the other hand, the child who is weak and sickly and cannot excel in athletics is quite likely to compensate by overattention to his studies. The child who is unattractive or who must wear poor clothes may compensate by attractiveness of manner or liveliness of disposition. These are ways in which one derives substituted satisfactions for deficiencies in other lines. This mechanism has been described by Adler,* and the Adler school of mental therapy places a great deal of stress in understanding the mechanism of compensation.

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* Adler's theory was first available in book form in his *The Neurotic Constitution;* Dodd, Mead and Company, 1917. Since then many more books by Adler and his followers have popularized his point of view. See Adler, A. — *What Life Should Mean to You;* Little, Brown and Company, 1931, for a recent popular exposition.

Illustrations:

1. The student who gets poor grades but is teacher's " handy man "
2. The crippled boy who cannot take part in athletics but who is sports editor of the school paper
3. The student who is poor in academic work but excels in athletics
4. The student who is poor in athletics but excels in academic work
5. The student who is not athletic succeeding in becoming business manager of the team
6. The academically poor student making the most of his ability to act and starring in most of the school dramatic productions
7. The student who does very poor work in geometry spending a great deal of time making excellent drawings of the problem
8. A stammerer developing ability to express himself unusually well in written work
9. A boy who is almost blind developing ability as a saxophone player

Escape reactions. There are various mechanisms that may be summed up under one heading: *escape.* Perhaps the best known of these is the withdrawal into oneself which leads to daydreaming and a phantasy life. Such a method of gaining satisfaction — withdrawing from reality and getting pleasure out of one's own thoughts and imaginations — is sometimes called *introversion,** and the person who has developed this mode of satisfaction is known as an *introvert.* Not only does this mechanism show itself in daydreaming and reveries, but one may also obtain similar substituted satisfactions from reading stories of adventure in books and magazines, from attendance at motion pictures, and in other similar ways. To gain satisfaction in these ways is quite normal and not at all harmful when done in moderation. However, if a boy or girl yields to this type of satisfaction to the exclusion of more overt activity, he is often failing to learn and grow in desirable ways and eventually will become handicapped in meeting the problems of life.

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* The concepts of introversion and extroversion have their first exposition in the works of Jung. See Jung, C. G. — *Psychological*

Illustrations:

1. A child who is very lonely, unfriendly, and restrained in home life reading magazine "thrillers"
2. A child coming from a very poor family who imagines and tells what he would do with money should he become rich
3. A child unable to master subjects who spends his study-hall time daydreaming about what a great athlete he will be
4. A timid, awkward, and unsocial lad who fancies that he will some day be a "ladies' man"
5. A girl ashamed of home conditions who spends a great deal of time looking at pictures of beautiful homes and gardens and dreaming about the home she will have when she grows up
6. A student coming from the country to the city who says that he prefers to be by himself rather than with the city boys

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Types; Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1923. The terms are used here in a slightly different sense from those used by Jung originally.

Defense reactions. Another group of mechanisms may be summed up under the heading of *defense.* A boy who really is fearful will tend to disguise his timidity by boasting or bullying behavior. One may be suspicious of the boy who is loud and defiant, who makes trouble for others, who continually adopts an aggressive or fighting attitude, who bullies children younger than himself, or who takes up exaggerated adult or collegiate ways. Almost certainly it will be found that such behavior is an attempt to cover up some striking fear or timidity. If the boy is fearful that he will not pass in school or that he will not be able to hold his own in contests on the playground, he is apt to try to defend himself in various undesirable ways. These modes of behavior are sometimes called *extroversion*, and the person who uses these mechanisms may be called an *extrovert.*

Illustrations:

1. A girl who would like to be popular with the boys and who is not, becoming loud and " tomboyish "
2. A boy who is really a coward at heart, becoming a bully when in the presence of small boys
3. An unpopular girl who desires attention, wearing showy jewelry and clothes
4. A dull boy who covers inferiority by coughing, series of whistlings, or throwing of paper wads in study hall
5. The boy who can " lick " any boy in town physically, but who cannot " lick " any boy in town mentally
6. A person of small stature defending physical inferiority by very loud talking
7. A boy who is disliked by companions, constantly boasting of his conquests in other groups

Transference. This mechanism of transference, first formally recognized by psychoanalysts, may be seen clearly enough in our daily life. We are continually adopting attitudes toward those with whom we come in contact that are similar to the attitudes that we have already formed toward other persons. The child, for instance, tends to react toward a teacher in ways that may be similar to his methods of reacting to his mother or father at home. Often this transference takes place more easily if the new individual bears certain characteristics that are similar to those of a person one has known in the past. If a person to whom we are introduced resembles some friend, we tend to be attracted to him. On the other hand, if he has some mannerism, some facial expression, or a laugh that is similar to that of some one we dislike, we immediately tend to build up an attitude of dislike toward the new person.

Illustrations:

1. Twin brothers in a certain school were inseparable. Recently one of them developed tuberculosis and is in a sanitorium. The boy left in school at first was lost but soon found a boy who looks very much like the other brother. Now they are as inseparable as the twins were.
2. A strong bond existed between Harry and his father, particularly in their mutual interest in athletics. When Harry entered high school, he became greatly attached to the coach and gradually transferred to him much of the emotional feeling he had had for his father.

3. A girl came to town to attend high school. She became much attached to the high-school principal, who resembles her father closely.
4. In transferring love of mother to a girl, the boy often selects a girl with many of the traits of his mother.
5. Ed transferred from one school (A) to another (B). School A had been his ideal of what a school should be, and he had made up his mind that he would never cease being loyal to it. However, before the year was over he found himself confronted with the problem of playing against his former school. He finally decided to play; in so doing he transferred his loyalty from one school to another.

Regression. When one meets an obstacle or barrier to the fulfillment of his wishes, he tends to cast about for satisfactory means of response. If his habitual responses are ineffective and the situation seems to have no easy solution, it is natural that one should go back in his experience for a mode of behavior yielding satisfaction. It has been discovered that a person in search of satisfactory adjustment will often revert to modes of behavior that we term childish or infantile. When we were young, we had certain childish methods of gaining our ends. We would cry or pout or stamp our feet or develop a tantrum. We find adults who resort to methods which bear a resemblance to these childish reactions in gaining their ends. This matter of regression is sometimes related to another mechanism which is called *fixation.* If some childish or adolescent behavior is the one that is found to work in a certain situation, it tends to persist and to become " fixated." Accordingly we find adults who never seem to have grown up in certain situations, who continually use childish modes of expression. One may be sure that, where this is so, these individuals have found that this is the easiest way to gain some satisfaction that they crave.

Illustrations:

1. Pouting and sulking when corrected
2. Crying at failure
3. Returning to mother for comfort and sympathy after being hurt while playing a game
4. Refusing to continue work when corrected
5. Using baby talk when excited
6. Returning to mother love when repulsed in love affairs
7. Crying when one does not get his own way
8. Holding breath when emotionally disturbed
9. Flying into a rage when one does not get his own way
10. Destroying examination paper if results are not what was expected

Rationalization. Another mechanism commonly encountered is that of rationalization. When our behavior is irrational, illogical, emotional, strange, or peculiar, we often feel obliged to give reasons for it that tend to justify it in the eyes of other persons and to ourselves. Although some rationalizations may be purposely drummed up as excuses to explain away awkward situations, we are totally unaware of most of our rationalizations and would even resent having it suggested that we were rationalizing. In rationalization there is a failure to look impartially at the situation and see all the facts at their true value.

Some one aspect or phase of the situation is singled out and overemphasized and other aspects are overlooked or neglected. Consequently we invent reasons which seem logical and plausible enough to us but which really represent careful selection of the data to fit our needs.

Illustrations:

1. Excusing lack of preparation by overestimation of home duties
2. Excusing poor grades by accusing others of cheating
3. Blaming others for failure
4. Blaming failure in examination on fact that one cannot see the blackboard
5. Blaming lack of preparation on poor health
6. Blaming failure in subject on teacher
7. Blaming failure to learn Latin on lack of desire to do so
8. Blaming failure to " shoot baskets " on sore finger
9. Excusing excessive desire to play cards and dice by saying that it helps arithmetic
10. Blaming school troubles on morning paper route
11. Blaming failure to secure the job in the high-school office by saying that the boy who did get it " had a pull "
12. Blaming tardiness on mother's not getting up in time
13. Blaming failure to make the team on the coach
14. Excusing failure in the college preparatory course by saying one lacks interest in it

Repression. One of the mechanisms that have been well described by Freud is repression. Occasionally a person will commit some deed which gives him cause for fear or shame, or he may believe something true about himself about which he worries. Instead of facing the facts about his misdeed or about his imaginary condition openly and frankly, there is a tendency to overlook or to blind himself as to the truth. This is not always a conscious or voluntary suppression of the facts, but it is occasionally so complete that one loses all awareness or trace of the condition that is repressed or inhibited. Sometimes repression breaks out in strange behavior, incomprehensible alike to the person himself and to his friends. Repression is frequently at work in cases of rationalization. The reason which one gives as an excuse is often considered by him the real reason. The true reason, however, which may be something that he unconsciously avoids, may be entirely unknown to him. For instance, a pupil may really believe that poor health or pressure of home duties or the fact that he has to spend spare time out of school at work is the cause of his low marks in school, whereas the truth is that he lacks ability. Frequently one recognizes the presence of a repression by the violence with which one reacts against having the hidden fact revealed. For instance, many persons, when told their scores on an intelligence test, blame the test as being unreliable or excuse their performance by saying that they were unprepared or in poor condition to take the test. Repression may be distinguished from *suppression*. Suppression is the conscious inhibition of oneself, whereas repression is an unconscious inhibition. One, for instance, may say that he prefers to walk home on a certain street because he enjoys being with a friend, whereas the real reason is that he wishes to avoid passing by the house of some one whom he dislikes very much or of whom he is afraid. He *suppresses* the tendency to go home the shortest way in order to accompany his friend, but he *represses* his fear or dislike as the real reason.

Illustrations:

1. Does not desire to swim — possibly due to fact that in early years a chum was drowned
2. Great fear of lightning — possibly due to the fact that at an early age he was knocked unconscious by lightning striking
3. Does not sing because in the kindergarten the teacher told him that he could not carry a tune
4. Refuses to have anything to do with animals — possibly due to having been bitten by a dog when very young
5. Unconsciously avoids all foreign languages because of failure in Latin
6. Refuses to try out for plays or debates because first attempts were unsuccessful
7. Refuses to work in chemistry laboratory because he was hurt by firecrackers when a child

Projection. Another mechanism quite similar to rationalization is that of projection. We tend to refer to other people or even inanimate objects attributes that are really true of ourselves but which we fail or refuse to recognize in ourselves. The carpenter who quarrels with his tools, the boy who excuses his failure because his pencil was dull or he ran out of ink is using a form of projection. Children in school will quite naturally ascribe to the teacher conditions for which they are really responsible. " She failed me," is a common explanation for low marks. The individual who complains that other people are cold and indifferent to him, that the world is a friendless place, in all probability is cold and indifferent and lacking in friendliness to others. The person who complains that his neighbors are gossipy is very apt to gossip himself.

Illustrations:

1. Criticizing others for being snobbish
2. Reporting cheating, but cheating whenever there is an opportunity to do so
3. Being overanxious to decry dishonesty in others
4. Constantly insisting that others are " picking on me " or " making fun of me "
5. Being critical of gossiping in others

PROBLEMS AND EXERCISES FOR DISCUSSION

1. Mention some type of behavior in school that pupils have transferred from home.

2. When is identification desirable and when undesirable? What are your standards when you say that some models are bad to copy?

3. Is compensation ever a satisfactory mode of adjustment? Under what conditions? How would you distinguish between a desirable compensation and an undesirable one?

4. Is all daydreaming bad? What makes daydreaming undesirable?

5. Formulate some rules for helping a person learn to avoid the tendency to rationalize.

6. Which of the mechanisms listed in this chapter seem to be forms of rationalization?

7. Which of the mechanisms listed in this chapter seem to be forms of compensation?

8. Name as many situations as you can for which junior high-school pupils have to compensate.

9. Name as many situations as you can about which pupils rationalize.

10. Give three additional illustrations of each mechanism from your experience.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS OF BEHAVIOR PATTERNS

In this chapter a number of isolated bits of behavior are taken one at a time and analyzed as to their possible origins and the mechanisms which may be responsible for them. Those that have been selected for discussion are only a few of the many possible or significant kinds of behavior. These behavior patterns may be thought of as symptoms. They represent methods of adjustment that pupils may use to solve the problems which confront them in school and family life. The analyses made for all these bits of behavior are suggestive only and are in no sense complete. It is quite possible that the particular boy or girl whom you may have in mind at the moment may exhibit one or more of these behavior patterns, but from a cause quite different from any that is mentioned here. This chapter is presented in order to stimulate a mode of thinking with regard to behavior. The teacher who has learned to interpret behavior in terms of the drives which it satisfies and the thwartings for which it compensates is certain to be more successful in understanding pupils than the teacher who interprets pupil behavior as due to laziness; stubbornness, obstinacy, or stupidity.

Participating voluntarily in class only when directly questioned. Preferring to sit on the side lines. This only too common tendency to be observed in children in the classroom may have a variety of explanations and origins. One obvious cause of this avoidance of classroom participation is the fear of failure or the fear of embarrassment. Probably in a number of instances the child has made a genuine attempt to take part in class discussion only to have the teacher fail to appreciate his efforts; and if his response has brought on him sarcasm or ridicule by the teacher or sneers and giggles from his classmates, his participation in the activities of the class will be repressed. He withdraws within himself for fear that another attempt to recite will bring on him similar censure or ridicule.

In other children habits of lack of participation in class activities may be due to a general habit of submission which may have been acquired at home as a response to overdominance by parents or brothers and sisters. Such a child finds that he avoids distressing situations if he manages to keep out of the way of other members of the family and diverts attention from himself by being quiet and unobtrusive. Such habits may carry over to the classroom.

Again we may look to identification as the explanation of this form of behavior. Possibly this child comes from a quiet family in which either father or mother, or both, maintain a retiring attitude in any gathering, fail to make suggestions, and keep their ideas to themselves. Naturally a child will use his parents or other members of his family as his models and will adopt a similar attitude when in any group.

Still again, the very act of being quiet and avoiding participation may be a means of gaining distinction. If by keeping still a child is at the same time able to appear wise, particularly if when called upon his answers are correct or have merit, the child may use this method of gaining honor for himself. He becomes known as the "wise owl," the sphinx, the oracle of the group, who gives forth his wisdom only on request. Frequently bright children who are undergraded are bored by the work of the class. For them to fail to participate or volunteer in the recitation may be simply explained by the fact that the work lacks sufficient stimulation to maintain their interest. Then it is possible that some of the work in school may be actually distasteful to the pupil, as when he has acquired a dislike for art or mathematics. Such a dislike is apt to lead to reticence and make it difficult for the pupil to recite.

The child who holds back from participating with others in class activities should not be branded as lazy or indifferent. Without doubt in every case sufficient investigation would bring to light a real reason for the reticence.

Showing tendency in class always to be doing something other than the job at hand. Allowing attention to wander away from class exercise. Always concerned about extraneous matters. This obviously is a kind of escape mechanism and indicates more than anything else an inadequacy to cope with the work of the class. Sometimes it will be found that the child is dull, is overgraded, or for some other reason finds the work too difficult. Attention will fly off to something else when it is not held by the activities of the classroom. Bright children will be found among those who fail to give rapt attention in class, but for a different reason. The bright child probably sees at a glance the answer to the problem which has been presented, and of necessity his attention wanders away before the discussion of the problem in the class comes to a conclusion.

In the case of a dull child inattention is a sign that he should be transferred to a group where the work is not too difficult. In the case of the bright child he should be placed in a group that will offer constant challenge to his mentality. In considering this lack of attention in class one should not forget the possibility of inherent dullness of curriculum content. In a class that is studying highly abstract material, such as grammatical analyses of sentences or the study of language paradigms, any normal child will tend naturally to turn his attention to something that is of greater inherent interest to him.

Being constantly restless in study and easily distracted. Having frequent necessity to get up and move around to sharpen pencil, open window, consult dictionary, or confer with a friend. The hyperactive individual who is exceedingly restless and must continually move about the room or wriggle and squirm in his seat may be suffering from an overactive thyroid which drives him on relentlessly. Such a child is apt to be spare and spindling in stature, and the marked nervousness of his condition is at once apparent.

Restlessness may, on the other hand, be functional in origin. This behavior in the study hall may be classed commonly as an escape reaction. For some reason the pupil finds it difficult to give his attention to the work at hand, and his restlessness and extraneous activity are attempts to escape from what he cannot do and yet apparently to justify himself in his course. Sometimes it will be found that a pupil has difficulty in settling himself to work. He must go through a number of unnecessary preparatory movements before he actually gets down to the task at hand. His pencil must be sharpened to a fine point and materials must be out and in exactly the right place on the table.

In some instances restlessness in study is a sign of high tension on the part of the child. Perhaps the child is finding some conflict in connection with the situation at home or at school, and the tension under which he is living must find some sort of outlet in restless physical activity. The very social situation itself in school perhaps predisposes to heightened activity. This may be especially true in coeducational schools, where boys and girls tend to excite each other, with the result that the increased tension demands some sort of motor release.

We may also think of this restlessness as a form of compensation or attention getting. Certainly the boy who attracts the attention of the teacher during study is giving himself a notoriety that studying itself does not bring, and perhaps at the moment this need for notoriety is uppermost, especially when satisfaction of getting a response from people cannot otherwise be obtained.

If a pupil feels inferior in other ways, perhaps this feeling can be compensated for by a bustle and businesslike air which give him the feeling of accomplishing something even though it is a series of useless movements. Finally, some of this restlessness can be due to mere regression. If the task at hand is beyond the pupil's powers and he has no other recourse, he may revert to childish or infantile behavior, such as antics to amuse other children or to attract their attention.

In practically every instance restlessness during the study period is a sign of inadequacy for the task at hand.

Being frequently slow or tardy. Slipping in just before the bell rings. Being just a shade behind the rest of group in getting work done. Calling for more time. Procrastinating. The tendency on the part of pupils to be late in coming to school or moving to classes is most annoying, as it breaks into the group organization. There may be a variety of explanations of this tendency.

In the first place, the child may have some physical disability, as lameness, which makes it difficult for him to move about rapidly. Occasionally the slow pupil is found to be suffering from a deficiency in secretion of the thyroid gland. Differences in behavior are many times determined in part by over or under glandular secretion, and in cases of lethargy the cause may be low metabolism from the under function of the thyroid.

In the second place, one can often look to the home as a cause for the tendency to be late. One can easily visualize the home where the parents are always themselves late in the routine of family life. Father and mother are late in getting up. The father may leave the house at the last moment, barely in time to catch his train. In preparing to go out in the evening one or another member of the family may be slow in dressing. Perhaps the clocks in the house are always slow, or perhaps they have been set ahead on purpose in order to make sure that the family gets to places on time. Where a child has grown up in such a home, it would be only natural that he should adopt the patterns set by his parents and be late in meeting his appointments.

Again, a tendency to be late may be due to careless habits of planning ahead or anticipating what is to come next. The child at the end of one period may have no idea where he is to go next, and if his program requires him to be on the third floor he may have to go to the first floor for his books, which he has not thought of until the time when they are needed. Bad habits of planning work is one explanation for failure to have it done on time.

A tendency to be late might be another form of attention getting. Some pupils enjoy the excitement of seeing how close they can come to being late without actually being late. They enjoy the attention that the mad scramble for their seats as well as the disapproving looks of the teacher brings them.

Being exceptionally neat. Showing meticulous interest in details. Always wanting work to be arranged just so without erasures or errors. One might wonder why such a trait as neatness, generally commendable, should be included in this list; but when neatness is carried to such an extreme as to become pathological, it indicates that some difficulty of adjustment has been met in this way.

A simple explanation of such a characteristic would be that the child comes from a home which is exceptionally neat, where everything has its place and is in its place, where the mother keeps everything about the house clean and in good order. The child growing up in such an environment learns to keep his own belongings in a similar state of good order. Neatness is usually praised and for this reason it comes to be valued for its own sake, so that later the child gains satisfaction from keeping his work neat and orderly even if it is not to be praised by some one else.

Where this characteristic tends to be overemphasized, it may be a form of compensation for some lack elsewhere. If the child cannot do his work, he may compensate for it by turning in papers which are exceptionally neat and clean, hoping to get praise in one way if not in another.

This tendency to be overneat may also be thought of as associated with some skill, perhaps the ruling of a paper or the careful placement of the name and date in the proper place on the page, which is the act that gives a task a good send-off.

These tendencies are really methods of escape. Ways of retreating from tasks by substituting the external form of one's work for intrinsic success with problems enable the pupil to escape from meeting the realities of the situation. In some cases it is possible that such exceptional neatness has been built up as a protection against some one who has held abnormally high standards. If the child can escape ridicule, censure, scolding, or punishment by doing work to which no blame can be attached, he may adopt this method of meeting the situation. More often, however, this meticulous interest in details is associated with a strong desire for praise, which has resulted from similar work in the past. Almost everyone tries to live up to the picture that he thinks others have of him; and if a child has been called neat or orderly and feels a satisfaction in that, he will try to live up to this picture of himself that has been presented to him.

Exhibiting anxiety over mistakes, omissions in work, or failure. Expressing strong desire to do work over or have another chance. Showing marked distress in such situations. Where this anxiety is marked, there is clearly some sort of thwarting either in the desire for success or the desire for approval. In some cases anxiety over mistakes or failure is due to fear of punishment, censure, scolding, and the like. Sensitive children who come from homes where the normal carelessness or clumsiness of children is not appreciated and where small lapses result in cuffings, beatings, whippings, severe scoldings, and tongue lashings may exhibit a marked anxiety and distress whenever such mistakes or accidents have occurred. Oversevere teachers who fail to appreciate a child's difficulties may likewise create in a sensitive child such a state of anxiety.

On the other hand, such anxiety may be an attempt at attention getting. The child who can show marked distress in such situations may be attempting to win the sympathy of the teacher and use that as an excuse for escaping from certain tasks or for avoiding the well-deserved censure that should be forthcoming. Whether this will be the form of adjustment used depends largely on the personality of the teacher and the degree to which she has expressed sympathy in other similar situations.

Psychoanalysts have emphasized repeatedly the relation between personal cleanliness in young children in connection with the toilet and later habits of thrift and wastefulness, cleanliness and uncleanliness, and neatness and untidiness. There are undoubtedly other situations in the early years of life which present the child opportunities to learn habits or tendencies of anxiety or distress at lapses or aberrations from approved behavior.

Again, the explanation which is so frequently given of identification with some parent or other admired individual may be true in this instance. If the child has a parent who continually exhibits signs of anxiety or fear at events and experiences both within and without the home, he is almost certain to adopt such patterns as his own for use in similar circumstances.

Constantly playing for the center of the stage in the classroom. Attempting to make others laugh. Trying to be funny. Wanting to be conspicuous on public occasions. This characteristic of both boys and girls may have a variety of explanations, but this type of behavior is frequently associated with a feeling of inferiority and the unconscious attempt to compensate for it. It will be found that a boy or girl who plays for attention in this way has some deficiency or shortcoming of which he or she is ashamed and which he or she desires to suppress. Perhaps the pupil is low in mental ability, is physically weak, or has physical deformities. Whatever the shortcoming, this bidding for attention is one method of compensation. Pupils will frequently try to act the part of the clown in order to get the laughs that are a clown's reward and are apparently satisfied with approval, whatever its stimulus.

However, one should not be willing to explain this show-off attitude by attributing it entirely to a form of compensation, as there may be other possible explanations. There are some children with good intelligence who have a highly developed sense of humor, and their ability to make others laugh easily gives them a prominence which is not unpleasant but which they are not seeking as a substitute for some deficiency. A teacher should learn to distinguish this natural quickness of a gifted pupil which is occasionally turned into a pun or quip from the show-off pattern which is a compensation for some lack.

It is quite possible, where the need for compensation is not evident, that this is a pattern which either father or mother or brother or sister possesses and which the child adopts through the process of identification as a means of gaining attention to himself.

Again, it is possible that at some time this method of getting attention was used and the pupil built up for himself a reputation as a joker or jester. Even though the excuse for this mode of behavior has passed, the pupil finds it necessary to live up to the reputation which he has built for himself. When he comes into the room, he is greeted by his classmates with an attitude of expectancy which demands of him clumsiness or horseplay. It is almost impossible for anyone to fail to live up to the reputation that others have constructed for him.

At times, however, this dominance in the classroom may be mainly an expression of abundant energy. The pupil may find it difficult to limit himself to the confining activities of the class hour and may continually boil over in loud and boisterous behavior. It would be easy for such an overflow of good spirits to become bolstered up by the evident enjoyment of the other members of the class.

Such activity is also heightened by the group situation. The same boy or girl who might behave quite demurely in a family group or with one or two of his classmates will behave in a conspicuous manner in the classroom, with its tension caused by group stimulation.

For some pupils whose personality is somewhat unstable this playing for the center of the stage may be a matter of temporary mood. At times the same pupil may be silent and pensive and then suddenly transform himself into one who is noisily bidding for attention.

But usually this form of behavior serves as a defense against inadequacies in other directions. The boy who is not able to give the answer to a problem that is asked in class may pass it off by a wisecrack which wins the approbation of his classmates and confounds his teacher. This apparent cleverness is a trick which gives some pupils a supposed quickness or sagacity that does not at all accord with their ability to attack problems or work them out to a solution.

Constantly telling about his exploits, things he has done, places he has visited, important people he has met. The person who boasts may be employing this form of behavior as a mechanism to achieve the adjustment which is not normally achieved in other ways. The tendency to boast may usually be thought of as a form of compensation for deficiencies in other directions. One may always suspect the person who is too loud in telling about his own abilities and deeds or who is too persistent in making his importance felt with those with whom he comes in contact.

Usually the person who impresses his importance on others may be found really to feel an underlying dissatisfaction with himself. This telling of his exploits is one way of bolstering up his own confidence and fortifying himself against fear of his own essential weaknesses. I have known boys who have had great difficulty in keeping up with their class in school or who have been forced to withdraw from school because of continued difficulty with the work to arouse feelings of jealousy among their friends who have had no such records of failure by the simple method of enlarging on their accomplishments, which really may amount to very little. Such boys may enjoy wearing badges or pins indicating their membership in important organizations or fraternities, exhibiting cups and prizes that they have won in contests or trophies that they have acquired in their travels, all of which may cover up their decided deficiencies in other directions. These same boys or girls who have been parading their travels or exploits may have been forced into these activities because of failure in the regular school program.

This habit of boasting may have been acquired from other members of the family by a process of identification. It is easier for the boy whose father boasts of his work, his club, or his family on all possible occasions himself to boast of his affairs to his schoolmates.

Making explanations and " alibis " when passing in work or on examinations. Apologizing for self. The tendency to excuse oneself on every occasion is a form of rationalization which many people fall into as a way of justifying their failures. It may also be looked upon as a form of compensation or defense. There is an actual deficiency. The child is not able to make a success of work in school, of his social relationships, or in sports and games and has adopted this little trick of making apologies or conjuring up explanations as his way out. This attempt to justify the self and defend the self against failure is an expression which indicates underlying failures and feelings of inferiority. There is an essential dishonesty about the attempt to explain away one's faults and failures that prevents one from really facing the facts with regard to his accomplishments or studies and prevents him likewise from meeting those facts straightforwardly and courageously. All these methods of escaping the necessity of facing facts make it more difficult to reach a normal adjustment to the present and irritating problems which confront everyone.

Having a tendency to solitariness. Wandering off by himself at recess. Seldom participating in group activities, games, or sports. It is natural for people to wish to work and play together. It is particularly natural for children to wish to play with others in group games. Accordingly when one sees a child who plays by himself, who wanders off by himself at recess, who resists playing games with the others, who prefers to come inside and sit down to read or study, he may describe these tendencies as unnatural and may classify them as forms of escape. The child may actually be unable to compete on equal terms with his classmates. They may be physically or mentally his superiors, and he may be no match for them in their sports and games. He finds his satisfactions in his own mental constructions, and his imagination may supply for him the success, power, and satisfactions that he craves.

In other cases he may have learned how to work or play by himself and may derive more pleasure and satisfaction from things that he can do alone than from things that he can do with others. If he is an only child and has been forced to play by himself a great deal, he may actually have a timidity in playing with other children or may not know how to play with them. Sometimes a mentally superior child may find greater mental stimulation and hence satisfaction from reading and studying than from playing with other children.

All of these are unfortunate states of affairs for a child as they deprive him of an opportunity for real participation in the group life about him. Occasionally one may find that a child definitely represses the tendency to mingle with others. For some reason he finds it shameful or undesirable to play with others or become too friendly with them and attempts to find satisfaction in solitary pursuits. Sometimes one finds a child who is beaten or cruelly treated at home and never quite overcomes his repression but avoids the companionship of other children in general. The child who avoids group activities needs to have special attention, as this is a very unsatisfactory form of adjustment to the problems which many children face.

Going around generally with younger or smaller students. It is normal for one to associate with others of his own age and his peers in physical and mental development. When a child is found playing with others who are much younger than himself, one may suspect that this is a form of adjustment to something that is unsatisfactory in his environment. The child who gets normal satisfactions out of playing with others of his own age, who can hold his own in games and sports, and who is a mental match for his comrades does not find it necessary to associate with children smaller or younger than himself. One may suspect that a boy or girl who consistently seeks out associates among those who are younger does so because he cannot compete with those of his own age. This then becomes a form of compensation; and in order to achieve prominence or success, he must match himself with others who are younger and smaller than himself.

Of course it is possible that a child may be forced to play with younger children because all those in his neighborhood or on his street are of that age. This would be a normal adjustment, but one should in any case determine whether associating with younger children is normal or pathological in nature.

Exhibiting absent-mindedness and daydreaming. Indulging in unconscious, imaginative dramatizations. Daydreaming is one of the commonly described mechanisms by which children withdraw from reality. Whenever the actual situation becomes difficult or distasteful, one method of making adjustment is to withdraw from it; and if they cannot physically withdraw, they can at least mentally withdraw. Children who use this method of escape from unbearable conditions quite often obtain substitute satisfactions by daydreams in which they become heroes or heroines, achieve greatness in studies or athletics, undertake dazzling exploits, or become pirates, Indians, buccaneers, or gangsters. Writers on adolescence are fond of describing this mechanism. Tom Sawyer, for instance, lets his imagination have free play and dreams of the great things that he could accomplish as a pirate or a general. Penrod, another character in fiction, enjoys a long-drawn-out daydream in the classroom which comes to an absurd conclusion as he recounts to the teacher the phantasy that he has been elaborating.

Daydreaming is not objectionable if it is not carried to excess and if it is not used as a compensation for some lack. Much of the artistic, literary, and creative work of the world is a product of free imagination, and the artistic producer must have the opportunity for free play of his imaginings. It is only when these imaginings are used as substitutes for the solution of real problems in everyday life that they become objectionable. When largely used as substitutions, they bring the individual out of contact with reality and make him less able to solve the real problems of life to which he must sooner or later return.

It is of course true that daydreaming and absent-mindedness occur more readily when conditions favor them. Emotional upsets in which there is a compulsion to return more and more in thought to the disturbing factor are certain to bring on absent-mindedness and daydreaming. Again, fatigue or preoccupation with many worries is apt to predispose the individual to absent-mindedness and daydreaming. Or one may take on the patterns suggested by others with whom he associates. If the child comes from a family where the parents are often reticent and absorbed in their own problems or where he is the only child, has few playmates, and consequently must turn in on himself for satisfactions and expressions, the tendency to resort to daydreaming and phantasy will be much stronger than with children who grow up in more expressive and sociable surroundings.

Bullying and teasing, especially with the element of physical cruelty. It will be observed that those who bully on the playground are often the larger boys or those who are older than the average of the group, and usually they pick on boys younger than themselves, pinching or cuffing them without reason as a compensation for defects about which they are more or less sensitive. Such bullies may be poor students in school and may take this physical means of asserting superiority over younger and brighter boys who get the honors in school work. At other times it will be found that other difficulties, such as poor eyesight, poor clothing, a lisp in the speech, or even vulgar mannerisms, have given them a feeling of inferiority for which they try to compensate by domineering acts on those younger and smaller than themselves, who cannot possibly retaliate in a like manner.

In other cases this bullying may be a matter of identification. The boy's father or perhaps uncle dominates his servants or his employees in such a fashion; and the boy, greatly admiring his father's domineering tactics, tries them out on his classmates. Perhaps the father has used domineering methods on the boy himself; and the boy, even while smarting under the injustices received at his father's hands, employs similar methods to gain a like dominance over children who are smaller than himself. In this way he seeks compensation in the only way he has learned for the treatment he has received.

Coupled with compensation is an undisguised attempt at attention getting. Possibly the boy has no other means of attracting attention to himself than by creating a disturbance in the classroom, corridor, or playground by making himself troublesome or by bullying other children. If this brings on him censure by teachers or pupils, the censure may be welcome because for the time being it puts him in the limelight.

Finally, it is undoubtedly true that such bullying, if it goes to the extent of physical cruelty, such as bending fingers back, pulling ears, holding children down on the ground and sitting on them for long periods of time, has sadistic elements. *Sadism* is the name given to a behavior tendency with sexual complications in which the individual seemingly enjoys inflicting physical pain on others. The opposite of sadism, *masochism*, is a tendency to enjoy having pain inflicted on one by others. The origin of these tendencies is obscure, but the desire to be dominated by others even to the extent of physical pain (masochism) and the desire to inflict such pain on others (sadism) are abnormal manifestations of normal sexual drives toward sexual submission or dominance.

Displaying undue honesty. Making much of finding something and seeing that it is carefully returned to the owner or left in the office. Talking a great deal about this. The most obvious explanation for this behavior is that the child is seeking by this method to obtain praise or distinction, and it should be classed as a form of attention getting. Knowing that honesty is approved, the child makes it known that he is doing the honest act.

It is quite possible, however, that where the child is making an undue fuss over his act of honesty it is a form of compensation. It may be that he is overemphasizing this particular act to cover up defects or lacks in other directions. It may sometimes happen that this same child has been dishonest himself in other situations and in attempting to justify himself tends to overemphasize his act at the present time. For instance, it might be the case that the child had actually stolen an article and in attempting to remedy his error and clear himself he makes more of his act of returning it than is necessary. Perhaps, again, others have stolen and he is attempting to obtain a favorable comparison with them. In any case being especially noisy or obtrusive in honesty should be recognized as a symptom that more has gone on than appears on the surface.

Showing exaggerated courtesy. It may seem strange to include courtesy in a list of this sort, as courtesy is usually admired; but any form of behavior when exaggerated assumes a slightly pathological nature. Exaggerated courtesy would be adopted as a form of behavior precisely because it is generally approved, and this may be a method used for securing approval which cannot be obtained easily in other ways.

One would expect this form of compensation from boys and girls who come from homes where courtesy is naturally practiced. It would be exceedingly difficult for a boy or girl who comes from a rough and uncouth home environment to pick up courtesy, although this may be possible in isolated instances as a protest against a home background which has been found to be generally despised. It is quite possible in other cases that the boy or girl may have copied this form of behavior from some parent or relative or hero or heroine who has been much admired.

Exaggerated courtesy is one form of attention getting, and an effective form. The person who is courteous is almost certain to arouse certain forms of reactions in others. They must meet him with a like form of courtesy or softness of manner, and this ability to control the behavior of others and arouse certain responses in them may give the boy or girl an unconscious sense of power. It is also true that anyone who has acquired even a rudimentary form of courtesy and has it recognized by others achieves a reputation that he is forced to live up to, and in attempting to live up to his reputation his tendency in this direction becomes more pronounced.

Like other forms of compensation, exaggerated courtesy may be an escape from having to achieve in other directions. The boy who is polite and courteous in school may thereby cover up a deficiency in class work. The teacher may say, " Charles does not do very well in history, but he is a nice boy and gives me no trouble and I do not wish to discourage him."

Scowling or otherwise wrinkling the forehead. This characteristic act which is occasionally found in children may later become ingrained as a fixed expression in adulthood. Since one should always look for a physical basis for behavior, the possibility of defective eyesight should first be considered. It is probably true that children whose eyesight is not normal will develop squints or scowls in attempts to reach correct adjustment.

Scowling is an expression which accompanies rage or anger. We scowl when we wish to take on a threatening attitude.

Scowling is also thought of as a sign of deep concentration or thought. Rodin's famous piece of sculpture " The Thinker " is the statue of a man with all muscles taut. The reason for scowling during thought is that the eyes are usually active in adjustment during thought and the scowl is an attempt to accentuate this adjustment. It is well known that, when one is giving special energy to some task, there is an overflow of muscular activity from those necessary in the task itself to adjacent muscles. Perhaps sometimes wrinkling the forehead in some way is a symptom of fatigue or strain or tension. One who is leading a life of great tension usually shows this by furrows in his face.

There may, however, be other explanations for this. Infrequently it is possible that these expressions are imitations of those used by our associates. Again it is possible that the scowl is a deliberate, although unconscious, attempt to impress others with one's scholarly ability or the fact that he is working hard. The child who cannot do his work well but wishes to give the impression that he is trying will knit his brows as part of the attitude that he adopts.

Wrinkling the forehead, again, may be an attempt to see that the eyes are widely opened for clear vision, a sort of anticipatory reaction, just as clearing the throat puts one in readiness for speaking clearly.

Blushing, turning pale when called on to recite or when spoken to unexpectedly. This tendency, relatively unimportant and insignificant in itself, may be symptomatic of a deeper underlying emotional tension. Blushing and paleness are manifestations of an arousal of the sympathetic nervous system and indicate some sort of emotional disturbance. There are wide individual differences in sensitivity in this direction, such that some individuals blush easily and deeply on what appear to be trivial occasions while others seldom react in this way. Usually blushing occurs in a social situation. Frequently it is connected with a sense of shame or embarrassment. Often it is an expression of underlying fear or timidity. The child who blushes when called upon to recite before the class is under certain emotional tension. Blushing usually occurs in situations with which one is not familiar, and with familiarity blushing is certain to pass away. Blushing is not serious but may be thought of as a symptom and, when recognized, should indicate that the individual is under some sort of emotional disturbance.

Coughing, clearing the throat, and so on, especially just before beginning to speak. Usually one should look for a physical basis for behavior; and when one clears his throat, it is possible that there may be some local irritation which really requires a cough.

However, where no such irritation is apparent, a subtler explanation must be sought. Such a nervous cough may be classed as a kind of compensation. The individual may feel slightly ill at ease or afraid that he may not make a good impression when he speaks, and the initial clearing of the throat is an unconscious attempt on his part to put himself in the best condition before he has to speak. At other times it is true that this initial cough is an attempt to delay the necessity for speaking even though for only a moment. Some persons need just that opportunity to collect their thoughts or even to ward off the impending necessity for speaking. All such reactions go back to a basic fear of failure or fear that a good impression will not be made. They can be explained as preparatory reactions that help the individual to get over his initial diffidence or fear.

In certain cases it may be found that the individual is again identifying himself with some other admired or respected person who has a similar habit of coughing or clearing the throat. It is well known that in a crowded hall or theater an epidemic of coughing will at times sweep over the audience. Hearing one person is a suggestion to some one else of the need to relieve a slight irritation so that these suggestions are sometimes sufficient to initiate a reflex action.

Hysterical laughing or giggling. Hysterical laughing or giggling, when pronounced, is an indication of some sort of emotional arousal or a general muscular tension which shows this particular outlet. Wherever there is such an emotional and muscular tension there is usually some sort of suppressed expression which may find this special outlet. One often notices giggling in adolescents, particularly in girls; this can be attributed in part perhaps to rapid changes in growth and development and again in part to newly aroused social sensitiveness. This hysterical laughing or giggling is heightened in a group. There seems to be a contagion to such laughing or giggling, so that again imitation or identification may be a factor. Attention getting may at times be the cause for such expressions. Certainly it is true that in all older people persistent laughter or loud, voluble conversation is often an attempt to compensate for lacks, such as undesirable clothes or facial expression or mannerisms. Attempts to attract attention to oneself by the obvious methods of constant giggling or laughing may originate fairly early in life.

Possessing noticeable physical deformities, as lameness, cross-eyes, scars on face, or need of heavy glasses. These abnormal characteristics, while not matters of behavior, are worthy of special attention along with behavior symptoms. Adler, in his original position with regard to the inferiority complex, believed that in all instances it was due to some sort of feeling of physical inferiority — that in deviating from the norm physically, particularly in deformities, an individual would be made to feel a sense of inferiority. Later Adler was forced to modify his original position and to attribute compensation to other kinds of inferiority than those which could be attributed to physical defects.

Any sort of physical atypicality is almost certain to lead to some sort of compensation. The short individual is almost certain to adopt a strut or a stride or a noisiness to feign an importance and to distract one's attention from the fact that he is small of stature. In any case where an individual seems to be doing something to attract attention as by undue loudness or zeal or energy expended in any direction, one should look first to some sort of physical deformity or defect which would account for this compensating type of behavior. The boy who is cross-eyed may act the clown, may adopt a surly attitude, or may attempt to excel in some activity as a way for compensating for his defect. Curiously enough, one of these physical deformities or outstanding characteristics may give an individual a certain sort of satisfaction in so far as it gives him a distinction and hence attention, which everyone craves. Carried to an extreme these same abnormal physical properties place people on the list of freaks in the circus; and while it seems difficult to understand how one can enjoy being the object of such curiosity, quite probably these same individuals obtain satisfaction from their exhibition quite apart from the money that they earn.

Not only should one look for the physical characteristic responsible for a particularly outstanding display of attention getting, but when a child has some physical abnormality or deformity one should also be on the lookout for the method used for directing attention away from this to something in which he feels pride.

PROBLEMS AND EXERCISES FOR DISCUSSION

Attempt to make analyses and explanations similar to those in this chapter of the following behavior patterns:

1. Resentment of criticism
2. Attention to toilet in class — applies make-up, combs hair, and so on
3. Overmodesty
4. Taciturnity
5. Tendency to hurry in all activities
6. Belief in everything that one is told
7. Ostentatious spending of money
8. Choice of an overloaded program or daily schedule
9. Nail biting
10. Refusal to try something new
11. Crush on some one of same sex
12. Request to change teachers or drop subject
13. Criticism of teacher, test, marks, and so on
14. Cheating
15. Request for special assignments
16. Loss of ambition, listlessness
17. Desire for perfection
18. Feelings that are easily hurt
19. Reporting teasing by other children
20. Destruction of work on finding errors
21. Undue attempt to talk to class officers and other leaders

CHAPTER VII

SOME GENERAL PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING THE DEVELOPMENT OF GOOD MENTAL HYGIENE

Good mental habits must be started early in life. This principle, well exemplified in " Train a child in the way in which he should go and when he is old he will not depart from it," has been rediscovered in the present-day investigations of mental development. The church has always claimed that, if it could fashion the child's attitudes in early life, the child could be counted upon as a loyal adherent for the rest of his life. Freud, in his studies of mental life, points out that many of our fundamental habits of adjustment become established in infancy. The first five years of life have been stated to be the most crucial for the development of fundamental character traits and patterns of behavior. At one time it was thought that heredity was responsible for most individual peculiarities of temperament and personality. Today, with our understanding of infant development and the learning process, psychologists are coming more and more to believe that many peculiarities of personality and character are formed in experiences in the first few years of life. The simple methods by which the mother feeds, dresses, bathes, and plays with her child in early life, the sounds that he hears, the toys that he plays with, and particularly his relations to other people, all are important in establishing behavior patterns which are fundamental to personality throughout the rest of life. It is, therefore, of utmost importance that mothers and fathers understand the nature of habit formation and have well in mind desirable standards of conduct for their children from the very first day on.

Children learn good habits by growing up in an environment where good habits are practiced. Nothing is more important in helping the development of good behavior patterns than a favorable environment where there are good standards or models for the child to copy. We understand now that copying the practices and behavior of others is not a simple matter of imitation, but a form of adaptation in which the child uses the types of behaviors around him as the best means of which his imagination can conceive for bringing to him satisfactions that he craves. The little child will copy his father's way of holding his head or will undertake to use tools and implements as he sees his father use them. A little girl will " play house " as she sees her mother go about her household tasks. A child tends to copy others in school, particularly those whom he admires, and the teacher's ways always serve more or less as a model which children adopt as standards for their own behavior. Parents and teachers should remember that what they *do* is of far more influence than what they *say* to children. One can preach to children from morning to night on the habits of cleanliness and courtesy that should be followed, but of more effect than anything that can be said are the habits of cleanliness and courtesy that parents and teachers themselves employ. One wonders sometimes where children "pick up" slang expressions, profanity, obscenity, untidiness, dilatoriness, and the like, but usually one need not look far. These modes of expression do not come miraculously but usually are practiced by those with whom the child daily associates.

Good physical health is an important foundation for good mental health. In studying a child with behavior or personality problems, the first points to look for are physical weaknesses or defects. A child who is undernourished, who suffers from chronic fatigue, who does not get enough active play, or who is suffering from some physical disability such as poor eyesight is certain to find it difficult to make adequate adjustments in daily living. The first thing to be done in helping such a child is to clear up the physical handicap. If the child is undernourished, care should be taken to see that good food is provided. If he suffers from chronic fatigue, see that he has regular sleeping hours in a quiet room that is dark, cool, and well ventilated. If there is eye strain, see that the vision is corrected by properly adjusted glasses. This attention to physical well-being may not be the cure for personality difficulties, but at least it provides a foundation for satisfactory adjustments. A sound physical condition and abundant health are important foundations for a well-adjusted and completely integrated life.

The older a child grows, the more able he should become to guide his own affairs. In infancy everything must be decided and controlled by the parents. Children are fed, clothed, and bathed and habits of elimination are attended to entirely by their parents. As the child grows older, he develops abilities to guide his own behavior. With the coming of language there comes, too, the ability to reason and deal effectively with problematic situations. With increasing experience and wider point of view the child can more and more take over control of his own affairs. It is fortunate that this is so because parents become progressively more fixed and set in their ways and less able to adjust themselves adequately to novel situations. If adjustment is to be made in mental hygiene, training and education should be given to the parents even before the child is born. The most effective parental education can be given before or during the early days of their child's infancy. With the child's developing years, education of the parents becomes less and less effective. By the time a child reaches adolescence, parents have established so many patterns of behavior themselves in dealing with their children and are in general so inaccessible to educational influences that there is little hope for radical reforms in family adjustments. It is at that period, however, that the developing boy or girl is able to take charge of his own decisions; and as the parents become less effective, the boy or girl can step in with self-adjustment. L. S. Hollingworth * points out the importance of psychological weaning in adolescence, stressing not only the difficulties children have in achieving independence but also the difficulties parents have in letting go. High schools and colleges probably should do more than they are now doing in helping young people to understand their responsibilities and to make thoughtful decisions on the affairs of everyday living.

To be effective guides of the young, teachers and parents should be well adjusted themselves. Because children learn so rapidly from the models which they see about them, it is especially necessary that teachers and parents have wholesome habits of adjustment themselves. The parent or teacher who is unable to evaluate himself objectively, who tends to follow convention rather than reason, who flies into emotional storms and loses his temper easily, who sees things from ulterior motives, who exhibits such emotional habits as jealousy, revenge, retaliation, or sulking, who enjoys self-misery, who craves excitement, or who easily becomes discouraged is unfit to be in charge of growing children. Children are blessed who have parents or teachers from whom by personal emulation they can learn habits of stability and directness which will enable them to grow up to be happy and contented men and women.

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* Hollingworth, L. S. — *The Psychology of the Adolescent*, Chap. 3; D. Appleton-Century Company, 1928.

PROBLEMS AND EXERCISES FOR DISCUSSION

1. A child, four years old, comes into the room while visitors are having tea and shocks everyone by casually making an obscene remark. His mother, horrified, says: " I don't see where he learns such things. No one that he associates with ever uses such language." As a matter of fact, the boy has just been watching two men painting the garage. Comment on this incident relative to (*a*) the effect on the child that everyone was shocked, (*b*) the fact that the mother did not know to whom he had been listening, and (*c*) the fact that the child said something that he did not fully understand.

2. Do you know anyone who is crippled or deformed or confined to bed that seems to be making good adjustments to life? What is his or her attitude toward life?

3. Why do some young people, when they go to college for the first time, adopt such practices as staying up late at night, spending money recklessly, and neglecting their work?

4. Is there any truth in the statement that the best teacher is one who has had many difficult experiences and problems but has made satisfactory adjustment to them?

CHAPTER VIII

POSITIVE HABITS OF MENTAL HYGIENE

The child should learn good personal and social habits. The individual who has good personal and social habits is on the road to mental health. Habits which enable one to go through life with the least amount of friction and annoyance are certain to facilitate good mental health. Among these may be mentioned habits of physical health, including proper choice of food, regularity of eating, exercise, sleep, and rest. Good habits of elimination are important. Proper attention to cleanliness and neatness help much in giving one a sense of self-respect. The child who can come to school with neat, clean, tasteful clothes is certain to be better adjusted than the child who feels conspicuous because of worn or shabby garments. Many little habits with respect to materials and possessions will help in providing mental serenity and balance. Having places where belongings should be kept and seeing that they are in their places, being careful to pick up things and put them away when through using them, saving rather than wasting, all contribute toward an ordered life. Particularly important are the many habits of getting along well with other people, of not intruding oneself objectionably on others, of having due regard for the rights of others, of not interrupting, of not criticizing, and of being polite and courteous when occasion demands it. All these make one's pathway easy and tend to elicit from others respect, appreciation, and regard. The child who has learned how to make others like him by his words and acts has learned the first elements of satisfactory social adjustment, and this is the first requisite for good mental health.

A child should learn that he can get attention by doing worth-while things. Little children soon learn the methods by which they will win attention from adults. From earliest infancy the child has been trying every possible way of attracting the attention of adults, originally to get food and drink, but later for all sorts of reasons. Some children learn that adults will pay attention to them if they cry, if they go into tantrums, if they sulk, or if they are naughty in other ways. Other children find that their parents give them particular attention if they do what their parents want them to, if they are patient in waiting for what they want, if they are kind to other children, if they are helpful, or if they work well with others. Since children crave attention and because they will use drastic measures to gain attention, the types of response that one gives to a child are very important in determining what behavior shall be stamped in. If we teach a child that he can get attention only by acting in ways which we approve, we are using the most powerful means that we can employ to get him to behave as we wish to have him. We can soon tell by observing a child for what he has received attention. Sometimes the child who gets little pleasure in life or who must act in ways to please his parents or teachers before he obtains his satisfactions or who runs into conflict with other members of the family learns to crave praise inordinately. Of course, the aim should be to make pupils more or less independent of praise and attention and self-contained in their standards; but praise and attention are effective tools in directing the formation of these standards.

A child should learn to have a glow of satisfaction in doing things well. Another habit which should be cultivated in early childhood and which will help an individual maintain mental health throughout his life is the feeling of triumph at being successful. Only too often children who do something skillfully or artistically are never noticed or commended for their behavior. Consequently their behavior gives them no particular satisfaction; it is merely overlooked. On the other hand, there are other persons who find their greatest pleasure and satisfaction in life from accomplishing something that is right or thoughtful or artistic because in early life their parents noticed that they were successful and commented upon it to them and to their neighbors and friends. Such a child grows up getting peculiar satisfaction out of behaving in ways that are generally approved by other people. Such a feeling of elation or satisfaction does much toward unleashing inhibitions and making life vivid and satisfying. In the past emphasis has been given to " conscience," a feeling of guilt or shame at doing the wrong thing. Of considerably greater importance for mental health is the stimulating and elevating glow of satisfaction that comes from a feeling of knowing that one has done his work well, has thought through a problem successfully, or has had ideals and lived up to them.

A child should learn to try things alone without fear. Many persons grow up without ever learning to try new things alone. Many adults are timid and panic-stricken in new situations and lack self-confidence and self-assurance. Children should be allowed to try new tasks themselves even though they are certain to do them imperfectly or to make errors or mistakes. Naturally children should not make attempts that may cause them harm, but children must be given a certain amount of freedom to try new ways of behaving if they are ever to learn to do them alone. Only too often adults feel that they must protect their children or do things for them. The father thinks he is helping his child by building him a kite or a boat whereas the child is losing the enjoyment of making these objects himself and is losing the opportunity of learning to experiment and try new things. Naturally children need assistance in their learning, but this is not the same as having things done for them. The mother who says, " Don't," whenever her baby reaches out to touch something or to try new things is stunting his growth and preventing him from facing life with self-confidence. If there is danger that he may injure himself on objects or harm valuable furniture, these should be removed from his reach; and he should be given profitable and interesting objects to touch, handle, and manipulate. The skill of the teacher is nowhere better evidenced than in this balance between giving her pupils proper stimulus and help in learning, and encouraging them to make independent efforts.

The child should learn to be glad to try new things. If a child is successful in what he attempts, he is quite willing to undertake new tasks and new experiences and life will possess an interest because of the zest with which new experiences are met. If, however, he is not successful with what he does, he hesitates to try the next new thing and shrinks from making progress. In order to avoid monotony, such a person seeks diversion in the form of excitement. Some children will welcome the next story in their reader, the next step in arithmetic, or the next episode in history. Other children are perhaps willing to do again that which they have learned to do yet shrink from attempting anything new. When a new process in arithmetic is discussed, they are unresponsive and obviously do not get it the first time. Teachers can help children to enjoy trying new things and to continue in their learning by making sure that they have mastered the work that has preceded. Often one shrinks from new experiences because of fatigue. Teachers should recognize symptoms of fatigue; and where a class is obviously unready as a group to go on, the issue should not be pressed until recuperation has rendered the class ready to continue their learning.

A child should learn to meet situations without excitement, fear, shrinking, or worry, but with interest, zest, and confidence. The capacity to meet situations without excitement, fear, or worry is fundamental to good mental health. One has only to observe those around him who are fearful of what the mail will bring or of crossing the street, who become excitable on small provocation, or who tend to worry or fret over trifles, such as objects lost or broken, to understand how important calmness and serenity are in good mental health. Children learn reactions of this kind from their elders. If a child lives in a family which is in a constant state of excitement, he will grow to crave this excitement. In many families the radio is going at all hours and there is loud talking and laughing, with continuous jangling on the piano. Such a state of excitement cannot but be harmful to the nervous equilibrium. Likewise, children catch the worry and fear which their parents express. If there is constant apprehension lest some accident happen, a state of tension develops. It is especially important that the classroom be a place where habits of serenity and security of mind may be developed. The teacher must avoid undue excitement in handling class situations. Her voice ought always to express calm and serenity. Likewise, the teacher should not bring her personal worries and fears into the classroom. Parents, for the sake of the best education of their children, should avoid all semblance of excitement except, perhaps, on special occasions and should never exhibit fears or tensions or worries. Fortunate is the man or woman who in childhood was under the care of stable and unafraid parents and teachers who met life as it came, calmly and serenely.

A child should learn to accept some things on authority without demanding the reasons. Obedience is another habit which is essential to good mental health. Obedience depends, in the first place, on the consistency with which a child's parents deal with him. If a parent is inconsistent and makes certain requests or demands at one time and overlooks a child's faults and errors at another time, one cannot expect the child to learn habits of obedience. In the second place, obedience depends upon the trust and confidence that a child places in others. If he learns that his parents are usually right and can be depended upon and that they do not fool or deceive him, a sense of security and trust will be formed and obedience as a habit will be most easily developed.

A child should learn to expect to see the reason for most things that he does. It is most unfortunate when parents feel that they cannot be perfectly frank and open with their children in explaining to them why certain things must be done and why they must be done in certain ways. If possible, a child should be given some part in reaching a decision for himself; but where some decisions must be made for him, the child should be allowed to understand them. This is especially important in school. Children should be given more freedom for deciding even some of the more important issues as to what they shall study and how the work shall be undertaken. The individual who grows up without feeling that what he does or what happens to him is related to his understanding is certain to lack complete integration of personality. Such an individual will accept matters of politics and custom on faith, and his mental life will not have the close integration with his experiences that it should have. There should be a proper balance between accepting one's standards and philosophy as a matter of custom and on authority and expecting to see reasonableness in affairs. The person who demands the reason for everything and throws overboard many forms and customs of social living because he cannot find adequate reason for them is certain to become unhappy and maladjusted. On the other hand, the person who goes through life taking everything on authority lacks complete integration. There must be a proper balance between these two attitudes.

A child should learn to be sensitive to the good, the true, and the beautiful. Sensitivity to the good, the true, and the beautiful is not something with which we are born but something that must be learned. This learning comes largely in early life through the suggestion of others. A child learns to be sensitive to the good by hearing issues regarding right and wrong discussed and having the right applauded and the wrong condemned. Likewise, a child learns to be sensitive to the beautiful by having pointed out the beauties of a warbler, a colonial house, a prairie sunset, or a minuet. The teacher has, as one of her duties, the emphasizing of moral, intellectual, and esthetic values whenever situations arise in which these values may be found.

A child should learn to act because of the value of an activity in itself. The greatest happiness in life comes from entering whole-heartedly into the various activities of the day. These activities should be enjoyed for their own sake. The attitude of play should permeate the whole of life. To engage in an activity because we expect to get something out of it other than pleasure in the activity itself does not lead to the whole-heartedness or integration which forms the basis of mental health. Children should learn to play games for the enjoyment of the activity itself rather than for the desire to win. In one's work there should be appreciation of the activity itself, of it as an art rather than as a mere means of subsistence. The school is particularly concerned in teaching children to value activities for themselves. Too frequently children are taught in school to hate their studies but to enjoy working for marks, to beat some one else in the class, or to win some sort of prize or honor. Teachers have a particular responsibility in stimulating interest in the activities of the school day for their own sake. The precise relation between verbal attitudes and actual conduct is still somewhat obscure. Certainly they are not the same thing, and yet it is difficult to conceive of one's having verbal attitudes without at least some tendency to put these attitudes into practice. Everyone acquires some control of his behavior by verbal standards, and it would seem the part of wisdom to help children acquire these standards with the hope that the proper motivation may lead to their being put into practice.

A child should learn to be willing to reject habitual standards in favor of more intelligent standards. When William James wrote his psychology, he implied that learning stops at about the time full adulthood is reached. Recently Thorndike * has demonstrated that the capacity to learn continues throughout life and is probably at its maximum between the ages of twenty to sixty. What James had in mind was that individuals actually tend to become fixed in their ways, and that habits acquired in childhood are not easily or readily changed once they become fixed. However, in our rapidly changing civilization, this fixation of early habit patterns is fraught with danger. It becomes more necessary than ever that individuals be willing to alter their behavior to adjust it to new conditions. Little children should be taught to change their patterns of behavior whenever they are able to understand a reason for such change. There is practically nothing in our lives which needs to become so fixed and habitual that it cannot be changed when a better way is shown. If children become accustomed to wearing certain clothing, to sitting at certain places at the table, to using certain utensils, or to having their possessions kept in certain places, they should learn to change these routine matters readily when there is sufficient reason for it. The flexibility and plasticity which enable a person to accommodate himself to changing customs are most useful in helping a person gain satisfactory adjustment to his environment.

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* Thorndike, E. L., and others — *Adult Learning;* The Macmillan Company, 1928.

A child should learn to see himself objectively and to accept facts about himself at face value. To see oneself objectively helps one to face reality adequately. This habit or ability again depends largely upon the attitude that parents and teachers take toward a child. If a child's qualities and behavior are discussed with him or in his presence in a matter-of-fact way as one would talk about any natural event, the child is aided in sizing himself up objectively. Much can be done in this respect with the aid of objective evidence. If a child steps on the scales, he can see how much he weighs; if he looks in the mirror, he can see what impression he makes on others. Likewise, a child should learn to evaluate the products of his activity objectively. He should compare his writings or drawings with standards and in every way should be helped to make accurate comparisons of his own abilities with concrete objectives. The biggest obstacle preventing one from observing himself objectively is the admixture of his observations with his wishes and purposes. Whenever one's purposes and desires conflict with the actual course of events, it is easy to acquire the tendency of stressing certain elements in the situation and of neglecting or overlooking others. Many a child is unable to recognize his own faults and shortcomings or his abilities and capacities either because they have never been brought to his attention or because he is unwilling to recognize them. Parents and teachers can help children acquire this sense of objectivity with regard to themselves by helping them to face facts without attaching undue stigmas or brandings to their observations. No one is more to be pitied than the person of extreme sensitivity who cannot bear to consider himself objectively as one looks at a book or picture.

A child should learn to face facts, accept facts, and act on facts. Adequate adjustment demands accepting reality. There is nothing more important in mental health than the ability to face and accept facts without blanching. This matter of facing facts is another habit that is caught from adult patterns. If parents or teachers face life squarely and take each situation as it comes without dodging any issue or without overlooking any uncomfortable facts, the children under their care are certain to acquire similar habits. It is easy to let our wishes and desires blind us to certain facts or cause us to stress those that are favorable and to overlook those that are unfavorable.

A child should learn to admit his mistakes, errors, and faults. Everyone has to make mistakes or errors at some time or other and behaves in ways that displease other people. One way of reacting toward mistakes is to refuse to acknowledge them but to attempt to justify them — a defense mechanism to avoid or escape blame. The individual attempts to cover up his faults by denying them, excusing them away, minimizing their importance, detecting his own faults or errors in other people, and the like. A little child should be taught to admit his mistakes in school work. Errors in spelling or arithmetic should be freely admitted, instead of being covered up. Only when this is done can the person really be put in the attitude of the true learner. Unless he is willing to admit his errors and failures, he cannot wholeheartedly accept the attitude of being willing to improve. A teacher, in order to help the formation of the habit of admitting mistakes and errors, must be careful not to heap on criticism to such an extent that the pupil must find some way of protecting himself. Criticism that is given in the spirit of expecting the child to do better next time will be found helpful, whereas criticism which strikes at the integrity of the personality, which calls names, and which covers more than the mere mistake itself is almost certain to lead to some sort of defense mechanism. The child who has made mistakes in his arithmetic cannot be expected to assume a wholesome attitude in accepting his failures if he is told that he has a microscopic brain or is a dumb-bell. Likewise, the teacher can help children admit their faults by not branding them or following the discovery of the fault with harsh or unnecessary punishment. If ink has been spilled in the classroom, the only response for the boy or girl to the teacher's question, " Did you do it? " is, " No," particularly if he feels that admitting his carelessness is going to get him into trouble. The teacher should endeavor to help pupils to admit their faults by showing that she understands that the act is not intentional and that she feels sorry it happened. Most boys and girls will respond if they are met halfway. Teachers should realize that children have not perfected their habits, and that carelessness, errors, and omissions are to be expected.

A child should learn to place blame where it belongs. In learning to see oneself objectively one should learn to place blame where it belongs. If one's tools are really dull, then the blame is rightfully to be laid on the tools. If, however, the fault is in our own lack of skill or in our own hurry or carelessness, then we should be willing to place the blame there. If others are responsible for the mistake or accident, then the blame should be placed without hesitation on the person on whom it belongs. But, no matter how important it is to face facts squarely, the best results are usually gained in attempting to help another person by overlooking his faults. Burnham writes,* " It is very difficult to blame anybody justly, and whatever good can come by blame can usually be accomplished better by some other means — constructive suggestion, for example." Many forms of rationalization take place to help a person defend himself. Sometimes he will blame and accuse other people in order that he may protect himself. At other times he will lay the blame on circumstances, hard luck, or misfortunes, all beyond his control. Children will say they were late to school because they overslept, or that they did not have their home work ready because they did not know what the lesson was. In learning to face reality one should learn to place the responsibility for whatever happens where it rightfully belongs.

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* In a personal communication from Dr. W. H. Burnham.

A child should learn to accept criticism without undue emotion. The sensitive child who is unable to accept criticism is much to be pitied. Some persons who are oversensitive cannot face defeat or criticism and will break out into ineffectual modes of behavior, such as sulking. Others will fight back when they receive criticism and call names or attempt to point out faults in other persons. Individuals discover many varieties of mechanisms as a means of protecting their own egos in the face of criticism. It is essential that children learn to accept criticism as any other objective evidence. If the criticism is unjust, then they should recognize it as such without emotion and proceed calmly either to explain to the other person his error or to accept the criticism with mental reservations as to its inaccuracy. On the other hand, if the criticism is just, then it should be accepted and, if possible, used for corrective purposes.

No one enjoys criticism unless he recognizes that it is a guide for self-improvement. When one who is learning to play a game such as golf goes out with an instructor, he welcomes criticism and proceeds to profit from it by attempting to improve his stroke. It would be well if we could learn to accept all criticism in much the same way — as information that will help us to improve our skill in living or to make a better score in whatever we are trying to do.

Children should learn to be helpful to others. The normal process of living seems to tend toward competition rather than toward cooperation, particularly in school. Competition is used to such an extent in the schools as an incentive that children are given almost no practice in learning to help one another. In fact, helping another pupil with his work is considered more or less of a sin, and children caught helping each other " unfairly " receive severe punishment. A distinct about face is needed in our attitude toward school work. It should be recognized that helping one another is one of the most important social habits that can be fostered, and that mental health is assured by developing in the social group a spirit of helpfulness rather than by competition and cutthroat rivalry. Children should be rewarded rather than punished when they help others. Likewise in the home, only too often competition grows up between brothers and sisters, so that there is more or less bitterness over rewards and possessions. Parents should see to it that every gesture of helpfulness from the earliest age is rewarded by attention and praise where possible so that children will grow up enjoying sharing things with one another. In the family much can be accomplished by the parents' assuming a generous attitude toward each other.

Children should learn to attempt tasks without delaying. Another habit of positive mental hygiene is that of carrying out what one has to do without delay. Acting promptly with due regard to time is essential under modern conditions of living, where so much depends upon meeting the demands of being at places on time in connection with work and play. Children should learn to get up promptly when called in the morning and to go to bed promptly at night. They should learn to come to meals promptly and to be ready promptly when they are going to places. When they have tasks to do, they should learn to attack them promptly, instead of putting them off and postponing them until a more convenient time. To help develop these habits of promptness, regularity in the daily routine is of the greatest importance. There should be a regular time for arising and retiring and for meals so that the child may become accustomed to doing things at the same time each day. In school the study program, while deplored by some because of its formality, assists in helping children to develop this system in the daily routine. One also helps this habit by giving the child fair warning in case he must leave something interesting that he is doing. If it is time for meals and he is in the midst of an interesting story or has just begun to play with an interesting toy, he should not be expected to leave his play instantly but should be given fair warning of a moment or two. Likewise, a child should be given to understand that, if he does his work promptly, he will have time for his play. It is unfair to expect him to do his tasks promptly and then fail to reward him with free time when they are done. In all this the parent and the teacher must realize that the child is a learner and, like all learners, performs his skills haltingly and unsurely. Children's tempos are slower than those of adults, and due allowance must be made for this fact. The daily schedule of children must allow for more time for common activities than would be expected from an adult.

A child should acquire a sense of humor. A sense of humor helps one to accept gracefully the monotonous or difficult situations in life. A sense of humor is a most satisfactory escape mechanism, for it enables one to keep in touch with reality while helping him to acquire emotional release. Men and women who can throw off their burdens and cares by sensing the humor in a situation can tolerate much more strain and worry than those who must fight with a sense of grimness each irritation as it arises. Children naturally see the comical and the ludicrous. It is easy for them to recognize the unconventional and to relish it with a laugh. This habit of approaching each situation, no matter how serious, with one's attention somewhat diverted by the inconsistencies or the coincidences which occur is much like having an avocation or a diversion which releases one's tensions at every turn. The teacher can do much toward relieving the monotony and tenseness of the confining classroom situation by enjoying with the children that which they are only too willing to recognize as funny. To do this does not in the least destroy the teacher's dignity or lower the children's respect for her; on the contrary, it tends to maintain their wholesome respect and liking for her. Happy is the family which is full of laughter and merriment! A sense of humor is caught by contagion.

A child should learn to work and play with others. One of the most important habits that a child can learn is that of playing with other children, of planning things together and doing one's share of the work, and of understanding what the other person is trying to do and fitting in one's behavior with that of the other person. There are many special habits in connection with working and playing with others, of assuming leadership and responsibility at the proper time and place, and of following readily and willingly the plans of others at other times. The child who has never learned to work or play with others exhibits many varieties of emotional behavior. He will be shy, or sulk, or be boisterous or a bully; he will try to boss other children or will weakly submit to others. The modern school has as one of its most important objectives that of teaching children to work and play in wholesome ways with other children of their own age.

The child should learn to work and play alone. Some children are handicapped by having to depend upon other children for their play and amusement. They seem to have no resources within themselves and, when left alone, are uneasy and restless. They have never learned to read, to make collections, to enjoy planning or constructing, or to pursue other activities which involve working alone. The person who is totally dependent for his enjoyment on the presence of others is certain to be handicapped at times when others are not around. Not only should he learn to adapt himself to others on some occasions, but he should also acquire resources for pursuing activities alone and enjoying a certain amount of solitude. It is easy, to be sure, for some people to make solitude an obsession and to become pathologically interested in themselves and in their own affairs. A proper balance should be struck between learning to adapt oneself to others and learning to enjoy being alone.

The child should learn to be cheerful and enthusiastic when doing monotonous tasks. At one time or another everyone has to perform tasks that are boresome and monotonous. The work of the world is not so arranged that we can always do interesting and stimulating things. With the increasing mechanization of our age it becomes increasingly true that much of the work of the world is intensely monotonous. For good mental health we should learn to endure necessary monotonous tasks without fretting but with a certain amount of enthusiasm and cheerfulness. The teacher can assist children to approach the monotonous tasks of the school not by exerting undue pressure, but by accepting monotony with some buoyancy and enthusiasm herself. Children should be made to feel that learning words in spelling or doing sums in arithmetic is not something to be avoided or hated, but something that may be enjoyed if approached in the right spirit. Much of the dissatisfaction that accompanies uninteresting tasks is due to the attitude that adults take toward these tasks. Without meaning to, we sympathize with children or with one another when we have something uninteresting to do. We speak of school as a place which children hate to enter in the fall and long to leave in the spring, a place with a wide reputation for being dull and uninteresting. The modern attempt to make school activities different and interesting may go too far. If the school is to be a reproduction of life, it must have a certain number of tasks which of themselves are monotonous and dreary. The important point is that these tasks be approached with the proper spirit.

Children should be taught always to try to improve, but without impatience. The desire for self-improvement is a most healthy attitude and one that is helpful in keeping the spirit of enthusiasm and interest. People who have the attitude of learning, who try to improve their technique in playing the piano or playing handball have a certain enthusiasm and interest in life. However, this interest in improvement can lead to annoyance and impatience if one feels dissatisfaction at the progress made or if one has standards and ideals that are perhaps too high. Parents and teachers should encourage children to improve, give them praise for improvement, and provide ideals of wanting to improve; but this should not take the form of pressure to attain standards so high that the result is discouragement because the standards have not been met. Rather, parents and teachers should recognize steps of development and should welcome progress made, however slight, provided that it represents an advance from the previous stage. Childhood is the period when one can afford time for learning. An adult feels that he cannot afford even the forty hours that are necessary to master the touch system on the typewriter. He is not willing to spend three or four years in mastering a foreign language but wants to see results in a short time. Children, however, are willing to take short steps in learning. One should be willing, therefore, to accept and praise even small increments of learning in children if these represent real progress.

A child should learn to be satisfied with a creditable degree of perfection. There are two extremes to be avoided. On the one hand, the person is to be pitied who has set such high standards for himself that he feels continually discontented because he can never quite reach them. There is always the strain of striving and the discouragement of failing and not quite achieving one's expectations. A child should be praised when he has achieved a reasonable degree of mastery and should not be made to feel uncomfortable because his perfection has not become completed. On the other hand, children are too often satisfied with almost any standard of success — anything to satisfy the teacher, to be rid of the task, to get out of doing extra work. This represents an unwholesome attitude that has been developed in connection with learning activities. If children feel that they are rewarded in the form of play or diversion or excitement by doing their work half-heartedly or by attaining less than a reasonable degree of perfection, they are learning bad habits that will sooner or later cause them distress or unhealthfulness. The successful parent or teacher manages to make children feel that a certain degree of mastery is so worth while that they will not forsake the task that they have in hand for some other pleasure or excitement.

PROBLEMS AND EXERCISES FOR DISCUSSION

1. Dewey* has said: " The tendency to think that only ' bad ' habits are disserviceable and that bad habits are conventionally enumerable, conduces to make all habits more or less bad. For what makes a habit bad is enslavement to old rules. The common notion that enslavement to good ends converts mechanical routine into good is a negation of the principle of moral goodness."

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* Dewey, J. — *Human Nature and Conduct*, 66; Holt Henry and Company, 1922.

How does this square with the practice of teaching pupils desirable habits of health and safety?

2. John B. Watson* is credited with the idea that parents harm their children by too much affection. He says: " There is a sensible way of treating children. Treat them as though they were young adults. Dress them, bathe them with care and circumspection. Let your behavior always be objective and kindly firm. Never hug and kiss them, never let them sit in your lap. If you must, kiss them once on the forehead when they say good night. Shake hands with them in the morning. Give them a pat on the head if they have made an extraordinarily good job of a difficult task. Try it out. In a week's time you will find how easy it is to be perfectly objective with your child and at the same time kindly. You will be utterly ashamed of the mawkish, sentimental way you have been handling it."

Why does Watson say this? What harm can too much affection do? Does a child miss anything who does not have affection shown to him? How does this square with the principle enumerated in this chapter that attention, praise, or affection given to children when they have behaved in desirable and praiseworthy ways is a potent method of forming good conduct?

3. Is obedience a desirable habit? Always? Blind obedience? Formulate some principles that express a sane attitude concerning obedience.

4. Give an illustration of how one becomes sensitive to a moral issue and develops a conscience. What factors seem to be involved?

5. Give an illustration of how one becomes sensitive to something beautiful. How is the sensitiveness to the beauty itself developed? What are the factors involved?

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* Watson, J. B. — *Psychological Care of Infant and Child*, 81, 82; W. W. Norton and Company, 1928.

6. How does one acquire a love of truth, accuracy, and exactness?

7. What practical suggestions can you formulate that look in the direction of education for plasticity and flexibility?

8. Give illustrations from your experience of the kinds of facts persons fail to face squarely.

9. Why should one be extremely cautious in criticizing or blaming others?

10. Have you discovered any tricks or devices for approaching your own problems in an objective fashion? If so, what are they?

11. Why is it sometimes desirable to have to be content when alone?

12. When one is a child, he is willing to spend several years learning a foreign language or he is willing to spend many hours learning to typewrite. When he is older, he becomes impatient with spending so long in making these acquisitions. Can you suggest an explanation for this?

CHAPTER IX

NEGATIVE HABITS TO BE AVOIDED

A child should learn to avoid a sense of guilt, sin, or shame. A child is fortunate if he can grow up without a sense or feeling that what he does may be wrong or unworthy. This sense of guilt has been much stressed in the past as a control in character education. Even though a sense of shame may act as a deterrent, it carries along with it such unfortunate mental complications as to be more harmful than serviceable. Habits of right conduct ought to be formed without having to depend upon feelings of guilt or failure to bolster them. The child should face life knowing that what he has done represents the best that he could do. This is a much more healthy frame of mind than that possessed by the individual who is constantly cringing or feeling it necessary to justify his actions. Those who suffer from a sense of shame or guilt build all sorts of defenses and escape mechanisms and develop attitudes that are, on the whole, decidedly unhealthy. To be without these self-derogatory feelings does not mean that a person never admits that he has done wrong or has failed. Rather, it means that he tends to accept the facts in the situation without emotion and makes decisions as to the best course of action to follow on the evidence. Adults can easily create in children this sense of shame or guilt by criticism, nagging, frowning, shaking of head, or saying " tch, tch." When a child breaks a dish, do not scold him or show sudden dismay or anger, for this only tends to excite similar emotions in the child.

A child should not learn to expect substitutes when faced with disappointing situations. The attitude of getting even or retaliation is decidedly unhealthy and regrettable. It is unfortunate for a child, when reprimanded or punished or when things do not go the way he would like to have them, to feel that this means that he must make others uncomfortable or that he must be granted some reward to take the place of his deprivation. This particular habit occurs readily with certain forms of control used by parents. Here is the child who cannot go outdoors to play, or who is unable to attend a party, or who must miss some interesting picture show. The sympathetic parent gives compensation for this hardship and tries to make up for it by giving the child some candy or promising to take him somewhere the next week or letting him stay up later in the evening. The child with tender-hearted parents who cannot bear to hurt or deprive their child of anything is almost certain to grow up feeling that he must have some compensation for his hard luck. This state of mind is certain to lead to a spoiled adult, one who takes the attitude that the world owes him something. In place of this, every child should recognize that on certain occasions it is best for him not to do certain things though he misses temporary pleasure or satisfaction. Such an attitude is best developed by the teachers' or parents' showing the way by themselves taking disappointments stoically and heroically and not acting spoiled and fretful when things do not come their own way. Children should learn the wisdom of turning to other pleasurable and satisfying activities as the best course to pursue when they are thwarted in something that they very much want but cannot have immediately.

A child should learn not to fret over failures or disappointments. Just as bad as feeling that one must obtain compensation for deprivations is the tendency to fret or worry over disappointments. If a child who is deprived of something is allowed to cry or fuss and if this crying or fussing is rewarded by the parents' giving the child some pleasure to stop the crying or fussing, the child will soon learn that crying or fretting is one way of obtaining satisfactions. Accordingly, whenever crossed or thwarted he will resort to these methods to obtain his ends eventually. This leads in later life to unhealthy feelings of fretfulness or moodiness when frustrations and disappointments occur. Parents and teachers can help children avoid this method of responding to their disappointments by showing them more positive ways of meeting disappointing situations.

The child should avoid excessive daydreaming. Mental hygienists recognize daydreaming as one of the unhealthy mechanisms when used as an escape from reality in attempting adjustment to difficult situations. Satisfactions are gained from one's own thoughts and reveries. When these satisfactions become substitute satisfactions, they make a person less able to meet situations adequately and efficiently and in the long run usually result in maladjustment. A child should learn to meet situations openly and straightforwardly. One way in which parents can help children to avoid the habit of harmful or excessive daydreaming is not to place the child in situations that overwhelm him. In school, particularly if a child is unsuccessful with the work or if the work does not interest him, his energies will naturally turn off into reverie and daydreaming. To meet this, teachers should attempt to see that the activities planned tend to be absorbing for all pupils and not so difficult but that everyone in the class can have a certain degree of success with them. The child who turns to daydreams is being thwarted or repressed somewhere in his daily routine. The sort of daydreaming, however, in which plans are made, later to be carried out, is highly commendable. This constructive, creative mental play should not be confused with the type which is merely a substitute for unsuccessful overt activity. Creative planning is praiseworthy; fruitless wishing is harmful. One certainly would not wish to eliminate the dreams of the poet or artist.

A child should learn not to be tied up too strongly to any one person. A certain amount of affection and devotion is desirable and much of the value of life comes from friendships and affections for one's teachers and comrades. However, it is possible for the parent to overdo the matter of making the child dependent on him. A mother can see that everything is done for him and can protect him from all sorts of trying situations, and the result will be that the child will come to depend on the mother's protection and support. Particularly in adolescence is it difficult for parents to admit that their children are growing up and to allow them to have greater freedom to form friendships in a natural way with those outside the home. Teachers also make it difficult for pupils if they give them too much assistance with tasks which a child ought to learn to do independently. Certain forms of tutoring in which a pupil masters material laid out by some one else without thorough understanding of it are distinctly bad, for the pupil soon learns to lean too heavily on another in his study. Parents should be careful not to help children too much with their lessons lest they destroy habits of independence that ought to be learned with the doing of school work.

A child should learn not to crave excitement. If a child is in a wholesome home and school environment, there will not be craving for undue excitement. On the other hand, if the home is a place in which there is no fun or laughter, in which the furniture must be kept just so for fear it will become scratched, and into which other children are not invited because they become too noisy or disturbing, then the child is sure to crave recreation abnormally, and this may take the form of craving for excitement. Likewise, if the school is a place in which the discipline is strict, in which there is no let-up from the daily grind of uninteresting lessons, boys and girls will welcome any excitement which can be produced to secure release. Other children, on the other hand, are taught to live in an atmosphere of excitement. They are taken to see exciting movies or murder trials or are taken hunting, until finally there is a craving for danger and excitement. If normal and wholesome recreation is provided, then unhealthy pathological cravings for excitement will not arise.

A child should learn not to compare himself with others constantly. This habit of comparing oneself with others is fostered in situations where competition is overstressed. In the home, parents should be careful not to draw invidious comparisons between brothers and sisters or between their own children and those in the neighborhood. " See how well your brother can do this," or, " I should think you would want to do as well as Tom, who lives across the way," is certain to stir up feelings of jealousy and make one compare one's activities with others'. Likewise, the teacher in school should avoid undue stressing of the competition motive. She should not set up certain pupils as shining examples for the other children to emulate. Competition in examinations and marks should not be stressed. Comparisons should be made with past work. If a child is led to see objectively his own improvement, the result is usually wholesome; but comparisons with others can become a bad habit and one which will in the end result in considerable maladjustment. A contented person is one who is not continually " trying to keep up with the Joneses " or feeling distressed when those around him have good fortune, get promoted, or are successful. One should have standards set for oneself and make comparisons with these rather than with other persons.

The child should learn not to enjoy misery too much. The enjoyment of misery is a mechanism which is used by many people to extract satisfaction out of untoward circumstances. It does not, however, represent the most favorable type of adjustment to a difficult situation. Children should not be permitted to sulk. If the circumstance arises where sulking is probable, the attention should be diverted and the situation faced squarely and seen in its true light. Tom Sawyer, going down to the river to enjoy himself with self-commiseration after having been unjustly reprimanded for breaking the sugar bowl, is a good example of what, starting in youth, continues in many people through life. The evil comes in accepting unfavorable circumstances without protest rather than devising ways of overcoming them. Self-pity temporizes with misfortune instead of going resolutely about the task of challenging it. So far as possible, parents and teachers should help children to avoid obtaining satisfaction from their own miseries.

PROBLEMS AND EXERCISES FOR DISCUSSION

1. How much help should parents give to their children with their lessons at home?

2. A pyromaniac is one who starts fires, usually for the excitement caused by the blaze and the subsequent efforts at putting it out. Suggest reasons for such unusual behavior. Give illustrations of the attempts made in everyday situations by children deprived of normal fun and recreation to gain excitement.

3. Sometimes one brother in a family is jealous of another. In other families one brother looks up to another as an ideal to be emulated. Suggest reasons for this difference.

CHAPTER X

SEX ADJUSTMENTS

In a book on mental hygiene one cannot disregard sex, which is an important area in life to which adjustment must be made. Sex is a topic that is usually not discussed openly and frankly and one which is often met as something repulsive or shocking. Even so, it is a very potent force, and aberrations of the sexual impulse can cause considerable suffering and anxiety. Many of the problems that are faced with children in school, if traced to their source, would be found to have an underlying impulse that is sexual in character.

It is usually believed that sex is first manifested at the time of adolescence, when boys and girls are reaching full maturity. As a matter of fact, the beginnings of sex come very early in life; and if one is observant, sexual behavior can be seen at all stages of infancy and childhood. The sexual life of the child has been described in a book by that title by Moll.* Thorndike in the introduction to this book has the following to say:

> The facts, so clearly shown in the present volume, that the life of sex begins long before its obvious manifestations

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* Moll, A. — *The Sexual Life of the Child;* The Macmillan Company, 1912.

at puberty, and that the direction of its vaguer and less differentiated habits in these earlier years is as important as its hygiene at the more noticeable climax of the early 'teens, increase the teacher's responsibility. Moreover, there is probably not a teacher of ten years' standing who has not faced — or by ignorance neglected — some emergency where moderate insight into the laws whereby the vague instincts of sex are turned into healthy and unhealthy habits, and form right and wrong attitudes, could have rescued a boy or girl from years of wretched anxiety, or degraded conduct, or both.

In adolescence, however, there is a sharply accelerated growth of the sex life. This is seen in a growth of the primary sex organs themselves as well as in the secondary sexual characteristics, such as the change of voice and the growth of pubic hair and in the rounding out and development of parts in the girl. The maturation of these organs is also accompanied by the development of the sexual functions. This makes youth suddenly sensitive to a variety of stimuli to which they are only vaguely or weakly sensitive at earlier ages. Boys and girls acquire new interests and urges, and all sorts of sensations — touches, sounds, sights, odors — suddenly acquire the power of arousing the developing sensitivity of sex. This leads to the well-known characteristics of adolescence. Boys and girls all at once become interested in each other. They crave social activity, parties, games, dances, in which they can meet, talk, and play with each other. At this age also there is a development of interest in art, religion, social service, and the like, all of which may be thought of as responses which owe their development to the maturing sexual functions.

The mental hygiene of sex demands that boys and girls should grow up in such a way that they can make normal adjustments to these increasing demands. Probably the first and most important condition for normal adjustment is a home with parents who themselves are well adjusted sexually, where there is love and affection, and where quarrels and unfaithfulness are conspicuous by their absence. Whenever one finds a boy or girl showing precocious or abnormal sexual traits, one may first suspect that the home itself contains features which are unwholesome or abnormal. Children do not of themselves fall upon and adopt perverted sexual conduct readily. In almost every case it would be found that the suggestion for abnormal behavior has come to them from some source outside themselves and only too often this source is the home. A happy and wholesome home, then, is the first essential to good attitudes and habits toward sex.

In the second place, normal sexual adjustments are facilitated by opportunities for wholesome play with other children in favorable surroundings. Sex after all involves social relationships; and if a child is to grow up and mature into a man or woman who has normal heterosexual tendencies, he must have learned from early childhood to meet and get along with other children in wholesome play. Such play should be active and out-of-doors play with a great deal of running and shouting in a neighborhood that has plenty of sunshine and fresh air and in surroundings that are clean. Boys and girls should play together, as only in this way can they learn to know each other, to become tolerant of each other, and not to feel strange when in each other's presence. With boys and girls as playmates and companions in these normal relationships the transition through puberty into adult relationships should come easily and normally.

In the third place, children should learn to know about the origin of life and the meaning of sex as early as curiosity develops. Many parents repress frankness with regard to these matters and meet the children's questions with digressions or with crude superstitions. Children should be told the plain facts about the origin of life as soon as they evince curiosity about them in terms that they can understand instead of being told that babies are brought by a stork and similar nonsense. Likewise, children long before puberty should be told the essential facts of sex not in a way to alarm or unduly excite them but as plain matters of fact. Usually excitement and mystery are attached to sex because children learn these facts from playmates who tell them as matters of dark secret or because their parents meet their questions with uneasy evasions or with a hesitation and reluctance that seem strange and unusual as compared with the matter-of-fact way in which other areas of life are openly faced and discussed.

If one wishes children to grow up with normal, sane, and healthy attitudes toward sex, there should at no time be the semblance of repression or inhibition toward sexual matters. Indeed, these repressions and inhibitions may be thought of as causing most bad sexual attitudes and practices. Questions about sex should be answered as frankly and as fully as the intelligence of the child can grasp. It is seldom necessary to tell the child not to look at obscene pictures, not to talk with " naughty " children, or to refrain from any other behavior of a sexual nature. The emphasis should be at all times on positive and wholesome behavior that will draw attention away from abnormal interest in the sexual. Instead of telling the children not to look at certain pictures, give them books with pictures that are wholesome. Instead of telling children not to play with certain children, encourage them to play with children who are acceptable as playmates. Instead of telling children not to play with their sexual organs, provide them with tasks that they can do with their hands, give them construction materials, or encourage them to engage in games and sports that involve vigorous activity.

Parents often do untold harm to their children by making a mystery or secret out of innocent sexual plays of children. If a boy and girl, no matter how young, show fondness for each other, foolish parents will begin talking about " sweethearts." Boys and girls are made very conscious of attentions that they may give to those of the opposite sex, and these relationships, which are innocent and harmless, are made to assume special significance. But these boy and girl friendships in childhood, companionships that may often go as far as being crushes, are certain to be temporary and transient and can well be overlooked as mere milestones in the progress of normal development.

One unfortunate result of the withholding of sexual information is the danger that a pupil in his ignorance may imagine himself to be odd or different from other children. A boy will wonder why he is not like girls or will be impelled by curiosity to see for himself how he differs from a girl. Children who are uninformed will obtain weird notions that they are unsexed or that they are lacking in vigor. The onset of menstruation of the girl or the first nocturnal emission of the boy is often terrifying because it is imagined to be evidence of some disorder. The very secrecy surrounding masturbation makes children who indulge believe that they are committing the unpardonable sin. Much harm and mental distress result from keeping children in ignorance of the nature of sex and its functioning.

In like manner autoerotic practices such as masturbation instead of being considered harmful or shocking are, medical science tells us, perfectly normal and are to be found in a very large percentage of children. Certainly if one wishes to have them discontinued, the method is not that of repression. Such practices should not be met with shame or scolding or harshness. Usually masturbation is a perfectly normal process stumbled upon as a result of pressure of clothing or from sliding and the like, and if repeated it is only because the child wishes to experience again the pleasant sensations which he originally received. Where such practices are found in young children, one should see that clothing does not restrict or chafe. Opportunity for active play and engrossing activities should be provided. One should particularly make certain that the child does not indulge in these practices as an escape from repressions, boredom or a harsh and severe environment or as substitutions for satisfactions otherwise denied.

What can the school do toward making possible wholesome sexual adjustments? Perhaps the first obligation that the school has is to provide opportunity for normal social activities. Schools should be coeducational. Where boys and girls are separated for their education they are not only prevented from learning to make normal adjustments to the opposite sex, but the maturing sexual impulses will often seek outlet in perverted ways. While it is sometimes claimed that boys and girls together in the same classroom often excite and disturb each other so that complete concentration on lessons is not possible, it is probably true that this point of view puts too much of a premium on success in academic classroom work. Even though it is admitted that the presence of growing boys and girls together may often provide stimuli which run counter to the classroom exercises, to eliminate these contacts would be to prevent boys and girls from learning to become adjusted to each other. Schools should also provide opportunities for recreational and social contacts outside the classroom in clubs, in dramatics, in musical organizations, in athletics, and in dances. It would be much better for high schools to provide weekly dances under careful supervision than to let boys and girls feel that they must obtain this form of recreation in public dance halls.

The second obligation of the school is to give instruction in sex. Several classes in school provide the opportunity for sexual instruction. In the class in general science or biology, the biological structure and functions of sex can be explained in scientific terms and impersonally without arousing the emotions. Many of the books on sex education introduce the matter of the origin of life by referring to plants and animals. It is doubtful, however, if the ordinary child can relate the facts regarding fertilization of plants, binary fission in the proliferation of unicellular animals, or the coming of the chicken from an egg with the facts of human reproduction. Some of these books present the facts in delightful ways to children, but one wonders how effective they are in making children aware of the functions that their own bodies possess.

Sex education can also be given in the literature class or in the social-studies class in discussions on the place of the home, the economic position of women, the growth of divorce, or possibilities in eugenics.

Some schools are now finding it possible to introduce treatment of sexual questions informally in discussion groups or in special conferences or similar groups where such topics as dancing, petting, the freer position of women in society, and the changing family can be discussed. These discussions have been successfully conducted in mixed groups when pupils have reached a certain degree of sophistication and can approach such matters without silliness or sentimentality.

In the third place, the school can aid in helping pupils reach satisfactory sexual adjustments by holding, wherever possible in the school program, high standards and ideals of parenthood and home and family life. This can certainly be done in classes in literature where stories are discussed in which home and family relationships are issues. Most schools do too little in setting ideals and standards for their pupils. Every opportunity should be taken, whether in assembly, during the home-room period, or in regular classes, for showing pupils the way to achieve worthy living.

Teachers should become sensitive to the sexual behavior in their pupils as it exhibits itself every day in normal relationships in the classroom. There is nothing about sexual behavior regarding which one needs to be shocked or distressed. The teacher who exhibits more than normal interest in sexual affairs of her pupils or who is unduly suspicious of sexual irregularities or perversions of school pupils may be suspected of harboring certain repressions of her own sexual desires. However, no one can be a teacher of high-school pupils without seeing every day boys and girls who become attracted by each other. Boy-crazy girls and girl-crazy boys, instead of needing repression and censure, need sympathy and understanding. These urges are real and insistent, and out of them grow normal home and family relationships which are the foundation of our society. The teacher who sees one of her pupils standing on a street corner late at night talking to a man should not call the girl to her the next day and reproach her. Rather, she should attempt to understand the forces that are at work with this girl and try to sympathize with them and should make plans to help the girl meet these desires in ways that will be socially acceptable and will eventually give her normal satisfactions. This means understanding the home and family influences, knowing what opportunities the girl has for normal social relations, and talking matters over with the girl frankly and without criticism, helping her to see the significance of her behavior and planning with her means by which she may gain the experiences she so much craves in ways that will give her lasting satisfaction.

Obtaining information with regard to sexual adjustment of a child is not at all easy. In an interview the natural reticence which surrounds the topic will prevent full and frank revelation on the part of the pupil. Often a pupil will not willingly admit sexual practices or knowledges that should be acknowledged to provide an all-around picture of the individual. Many pupils, in fact, are so uninformed that they do not understand the terms used (*masturbation*, for instance) in the questioning but would respond if the slang or colloquial phrase were employed.

It must be admitted, however, that failure to explore this realm often lies with a counselor who possesses only a rudimentary knowledge of sexual affairs. A person who himself finds this a difficult and sensitive subject would certainly have difficulty in obtaining information from pupils. Pupils also hesitate to betray themselves if they think that they may be blamed or criticized. Anyone who wishes to prepare himself as a school counselor should among other things make himself fully conversant with sexology.

Pathological sexual behavior of any kind, whether it be mere smutty talk, drawing suggestive pictures on the walls, or the more serious forms of antisocial or perverted behavior, must be understood in the light of the forces that are at work. Some children with low mentality may have psychopathological tendencies that have a constitutional basis. Such boys and girls are often oversexed or their sexual development may be precocious, and they may attempt to engage pupils of their own age who are undeveloped and immature in sexual practices. Such pupils must be understood intelligently. Perhaps if these cases really are pathological, they must be separated from the group. In other instances, a change in the home environment or exploration of normal interests may be sufficient. In no case will it be possible to suppress sexual interests directly without running the danger of sending pupils off into conduct which is hidden or illicit or of fostering neuroses which are even worse than the undesirable behavior that is criticized. Abnormal behavior must be overcome by creating normal interests that give wholesome outlets and high ideals and raise self-respect.

Whatever the means employed, certain principles are now generally recognized as valid in sex education. One is that the best relevant information shall be utilized. Scientific terms rather than evasive pronouns are advocated. Untrue answers are condemned. In general, information should be given to children and to parents before the need for it arises, rather than after it is too late to help much. Frank and detailed description of matters about which there may be some curiosity is much less upsetting to youth than half statements and vague generalities. The manner in which sex problems are presented and discussed should not differ in emotional tone from the manner in which other matters of fact, social concern, or beauty are presented. The teacher or leader must be one well adjusted in his own attitudes. Most to be avoided is the individual who gets secret delight and satisfaction out of discussing misdeeds or issuing warnings. In general, more attention should be given to the psychological factors of attitudes, feelings, habits, appreciations, and enjoyments, and to the sociological factors of personal relations, group standards, and institutional progress; relatively less concern should be accorded physiological elements. The many interrelations between sex and other areas of life — economic, child care, religious, recreational, vocational, racial, and so forth — should be used to keep the study from becoming an isolated aspect of the curriculum. The emphasis should be relatively little upon disease, deterioration, and disgrace; relatively much upon the positive values of comradeship, love, and family life. As with all education, it should be remembered that provision for opportunities for wholesome living is of more value than much speaking.*

PROBLEMS AND EXERCISES FOR DISCUSSION

1. The sexual life of a pupil is extremely difficult to study. What proposals do you have for gaining insight into the sexual life of a pupil whom you are studying?
2. Enumerate the arguments for and against coeducation.
3. Where in the school curriculum do you think sexual instruction can find a place?
4. What would you suggest as the best plan of procedure with a boy who has been reported as having cut pictures of the nude figures of Greek and Roman mythological characters from a valuable book in the school library?
5. What can the school do toward providing wholesome recreation in which boys and girls can participate together?
6. Discuss the possibility of setting high ideals of marriage and family life in connection with the household-arts work.
7. Should schools provide opportunities for groups to discuss such matters as sex in a free and unrestricted way?

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* Tenth Yearbook of the Department of Superintendence, Chap. VII, 195, 196; National Education Association, 1932.

CHAPTER XI

THE TEACHER'S PART IN DEVELOPING MENTAL HYGIENE

In helping children to form the habits described in Chapters VIII and IX, very definite assistance is needed from both parents and teachers. Habits are formed by being practiced with satisfaction, but particular attention must be paid to the situations which serve as cues for the setting off of any habit. By wise encouragement and praise and by the skillful arrangement of learning situations teachers can very effectively guide the establishment of healthful mental habits. The part that the teacher plays in habit formation has been mentioned in previous pages, but at the risk of repetition the more important points are listed afresh and discussed so that the teacher may see exactly what her part is in the procedure.

A parent or teacher should not reward a child by too much attention when he is not doing the right thing. Children soon discover what will bring them coveted attention; and if attention is most readily granted when the child is displeasing the parent, he will continue to behave in this way. Sometimes little children will kick and scream and have tantrums because they have learned that this is the way to get what they want. When they grow up, they learn that kicking and screaming are considered childish, and they discover other annoying ways of gaining attention. Unruly boys in the classroom will talk out loud, throw things about the room, and make impudent remarks because this brings to them, along with the wrath of the teacher, a certain amount of attention not only from the teacher but also from the rest of the class. If such behavior is to be stopped by the teacher, it must be done in such a way that the notice given is more annoying and distasteful to the offender than the attention itself. The wise teacher must know just how much of the daily irritation of the classroom to ignore. However, the real solution does not leave the matter negatively. If the teacher will use every opportunity to give children attention when they are doing the right thing or doing their assignments well, she will place so high a premium on this sort of behavior that the desire for attention gained by annoying behavior will disappear.

Parents and teachers should try to arouse in children a feeling of elation in doing the right thing. Methods to be implied by this are the simple ones of praise and giving attention when the child is doing something that can be approved or applauded. Show your pupils that you are pleased when they try. Make them feel that you genuinely appreciate their efforts and their successes.

Give a child freedom to do things by himself even if he makes mistakes. Children need not only direction in their learning, but also freedom to be allowed to try things alone. A home in which the furniture and hangings are not too sacred to be used gives a child greatest opportunity for development. Children should have every opportunity to try their own hand at building boats, playing musical instruments, or writing stories. Parents and teachers should know when to help and when to let them alone.

Parents and teachers must avoid showing emotion in dealing with children. Nothing is quite so damaging in the art of child training as losing one's temper in a moment of irritation. The parent or teacher should keep calm and collected and treat each situation as a problem to be solved. There are times of course when energetic decisions and actions are necessary, but even in such situations one should not lose control and act impulsively. Many parents and teachers find it very easy to persuade themselves that they lose the respect of children if they do not act decisively when discipline is needed. However, it is probably true that in the long run better results will be obtained if time is allowed for all concerned to cool off and then to consider the situation without heat.

Make what a child does seem reasonable to him. It is not possible to explain the real reason for many of the conventions of present-day living to young children. Some of the things that we expect children to do perhaps are merely traditional and do not have a logical basis that can be explained. Other matters, such as many of our health habits, may depend on scientific findings which would be quite beyond the range of understanding for a child. However, some sort of explanation should be afforded to a child so that he may acquire the habit of expecting to act on a reasonable basis. This reason must be brought down to the child's level of understanding. To be effective with younger children, explanations must be made on a basis of the child's own experience and must appeal to a more or less simple, practical expediency. The argument that works best with every child is to show him how to get something that he already wants.

Never suggest to a child that you expect him to do the wrong or improper thing. Children are very susceptible to suggestion and easily acquire conceptions of how they are expected to behave. To call a child naughty is to invite him to remain naughty. To suggest to him that he is stupid or lazy invites him to act stupidly or to remain lazy. Parents and teachers should avoid suggesting to their children that they have not lived up to the standards that have been held up for them. The child who is called a liar learns what a liar is and how to be one. If you wish your children to behave in certain ways, take pains to suggest the ways you would like to have them follow.

Where habits are difficult to learn, learning elements should be small. One should not expect the whole jump to be made with one trial. If a fear or distaste is to be overcome, give the child short exposures to the fearful object or little samples of what is distasteful. If your child dislikes certain foods, do not force him to eat large helpings of the food, but give him small mouthfuls of it each day until the distaste finally wears away. Likewise, if the child is fearful of some object, do not throw him into a frenzy by forcibly presenting the object to him. In such situations it is best to keep the object in the background where the fear of it will gradually die away. Perhaps it is sometimes best in breaking down an old, undesirable habit to tolerate no exceptions. However, the best results in positive learning are usually obtained by learning a difficult or distasteful matter little by little each day until success is finally achieved.

✓ **Do not hold standards which are too high.** Parents and teachers must tolerate a certain amount of accident, laxness in conduct, breaking of rules, and forgetfulness. Children have not perfected their habits and skills but must learn through trial and failure. These irregularities should not be dwelt upon but overlooked, and the successes should be stressed.

Substitute a desirable activity in place of a bad habit. One cannot expect to destroy a bad habit merely by breaking it down. The most effective way is to substitute a good habit in its place. Teachers will have more success if, instead of saying, " Don't," they will try to devise positive forms of activity that will naturally take the place of the action prohibited. If children annoy in class, instead of trying to suppress them and force them into military order, it would be better to substitute interesting activities to take the place of uninteresting ones.

Do not create a number of bad habits in trying to set up one good habit. Some teachers, in order to obtain order and discipline in their classes, will scold and threaten in order to obtain the hoped-for results. In attaining the desired end, they are teaching the children to respond to the scolding and threatening with attitudes of dislike or fear or with various subterfuges to gain attention. Whatever the teacher does becomes a part of the learning situation and a condition for the successful initiation of similar school habits in the future. Children who have been taught to be orderly by methods of repression will require similar methods of repression in order to be orderly in the future. One must not only look toward results but must also consider the methods used in gaining them. Only those methods should be used in gaining ends in education which one is willing to continue to use.

Do not overtalk, preach, argue, nag, coax, or complain. One method of mental hygiene is that of trying to persuade persons that their habits of thinking and acting are not the best. Sometimes this method is effective, but more often harm can be done if too much talking is involved. One of the fundamental laws of conditioning tells us that, if a stimulus is repeated without sufficient motivation, it loses its effectiveness. The more a teacher attempts to lecture or preach to a class, the less effective this procedure becomes. Often a teacher can gain her ends more effectively by judicious praise, by quiet manipulation of the situation, and by proposing interesting and stimulating activities than by telling the children what they ought or ought not to do.

Develop talents already apparent. One theory of education proposes compensation. Stress is to be laid on those abilities in which children are least efficient. If a child is weak in reading, he should be given extra help in the subject. According to this theory, if a child has musical or physical abilities, these talents, which are already developed, need not receive much attention from the school. Today this theory is less favored than the theory that one should develop those talents which are already apparent. The child who can use his hands skillfully should be given every opportunity to develop his skills to their utmost. A child who is a natural leader and likes to mix freely with other children should be given every opportunity to develop his social nature. The child who is good in his studies ought to be given every opportunity to proceed with them as fast as is desirable. Although opportunity for giving children new interests and testing out latent abilities should not be overlooked, where choices are to be made they should as far as possible be activities which will develop talents already apparent.

Let interests decide activities. There are certain things that must be learned in school. All must learn the fundamental skills of reading and writing, and all should learn fundamental desirable habits of health;

but teachers and parents should pay more attention to the interests of their children and allow these interests to determine their activities to a larger extent. If a child wants to learn to write, let him write what is interesting to him. If he is to learn to read, let him read stories that are interesting to him. In general, better results in learning are to be expected where the learning activities are based on children's interests. Moreover, better mental health will result where children are interested in their activities.

Do not forget the person in discussing part of a person. Every teacher and counselor has the difficult task of passing judgment on a person while at the same time trying to remain a friend to him. We all tend to confuse criticism of our behavior or skills with criticism of ourselves. The child who receives low marks on his report card feels that he is in disgrace in the eyes of his teacher. The child who is rebuked for disorder in the classroom or for unclean hands believes that the teacher dislikes him. This is partly due to the way in which the criticism is given. In telling a person where his faults or weaknesses are we forget to make him feel that we are still his friend and are planning and acting for his best interests. The teacher should first of all make sure that she has each child's interest truly at heart and can make the child believe that more than anything else she likes him and wants to be his friend. Once a child can be persuaded of this, criticism and admonishment will be received without the shock or depression to the personality that usually accompanies a teacher's reprimand. In no other way does the teacher show her skill to better advantage than by helping pupils improve and at the same time making them feel that she is their friend.

Do not tie the child to yourself too strongly. Parents and teachers should not protect the child and guide his every choice to such a degree that he becomes dependent upon them at every turn. Children must grow up with a certain degree of independence, so that they may learn to live their own lives without leaning too heavily on others.

Make tasks so simple and easy to understand that they can be attacked without dawdling. Often children fail to acquire habits of promptness because the tasks that they are expected to do seem difficult and they hesitate to begin them. If a child has certain tasks to do but does not quite understand how to start on them or what the procedure is, then there is a certain reluctance to begin. This may easily develop into habits of dawdling. If you would teach a child to be prompt, make sure that what he is expected to do next is something that he fully understands and upon which he can make a good start. Often teachers do not pay enough attention to their pupils' methods of attacking problems. Children need as much help in going about their work as they do in understanding the tasks themselves.

Do not use children in your classes to supply your own needs. Enter into your job because you love it. One feels that many teachers take up teaching because in this way they can satisfy a certain craving, otherwise unfulfilled. Here is one teacher who selfishly craves a child to love and smothers her pupils with mawkish sentiment. Here is another who has a strong desire to dominate others. This desire can easily be satisfied with a classroom of children, and some teachers scourge their classes into docile order as a means of satisfying this desire. Another teacher craves praise or attention, and those pupils in her class who by nature are the most demonstrative receive the lion's share of this teacher's attention while those who tend to be reticent are overlooked by her. Anyone undertaking teaching should make sure that she is prepared to treat each pupil according to his needs rather than as a means for gaining her own satisfaction.

Change the environment fundamentally if necessary. Where children are sadly maladjusted, the solution often lies in remedying the irritating situation or providing wholesome activities rather than trying to persuade the child that he is behaving unwholesomely or that his conduct is bad and that he should try to reform himself. Most individuals, children particularly, are quite unable to change their own behavior. The situation which has caused the unwholesome behavior must be changed. Sometimes this can be done by changing teachers, by changing subjects of study, by shifting classes, by fundamental changes in the home situation, by changes in companions, or by changes in out-of-school activities. If a child can be encouraged to join the Scouts, to take part in church activities, to enter into club activities in school, or to attend a summer camp, the needed corrective is often provided.

Do not be dishonest because you do not wish to inflict pain. Tell pupils the truth about their work, but be a friend to them when you do this. Sometimes a teacher, in order to avoid wounding a child's feelings or creating a feeling of inferiority, will postpone telling the child the truth about his work. It is no act of generosity to a person to fail to tell him the truth about himself; but in telling him the truth make it clear that you are not trying to hurt him or that you think no less of him, but that you are really his friend and are trying to help him. Everyone must learn to face the facts about himself, his abilities, his skills, his habits, his moods, and his temperament. If a child has low intelligence this fact should be neither emphasized nor kept secret, but he should be given every opportunity to make successful adjustment. To possess average or less than average ability does not irremedially damn a person, for there are possibilities of adjustment for persons on every level of ability. The school ought to help children adjust themselves according to their ability. This may be done by careful sectioning within classes or by wise differentiation of the curriculum. To disappoint a person in the present by telling him the truth about himself may be of greater service to his ultimate adjustment than to permit him to go on with impossible hopes and aspirations.

Do not accept exercises which are done in a careless or slipshod manner. One should never accept work that one believes to be below a child's capacity. The teacher of stenography and typewriting should not accept work which is below standards required in the business world. What is true with skills should also be true in the more academic subjects. Standards for every child should be set in terms of his ability, and no performance which does not come up to these standards should receive the teacher's approval. Teachers should be careful to see that genuine effort is praised and that any progress in learning is rewarded. However, they should be just as careful to see that careless or slipshod work does not receive commendation.

Do not show too much sympathy to a child. If your child gets hurt, attend to his injury without emotion. If a little child falls and bumps his head or cuts his hand, the natural tendency for parents is to make a fuss over him. In the interests of mental health, however, the attention of parents and teachers should be directed toward the outcomes. If there is danger of blood poisoning, antiseptics should be administered and proper bandaging applied. If there is considerable pain, measures should be taken to relieve the pain. However, if it is merely a slight bump, too much sympathy should not be given to the child. Often children enjoy getting hurt for the sympathy and attention they receive. Be sure to give your children attention and sympathy in other ways so that they will not have to get hurt for this purpose.

Do not say, " Too bad "; " What an awful thing to do! " By showing chagrin, dismay, or shock over an act one tends to build in the other person's mind feelings of shame, sin, or guilt, which are distinctly undesirable attitudes. If, as a teacher, you consider certain behavior undesirable, either such conduct should be ignored or the fact that you disapprove of it should be pointed out at the proper time. It is more important, however, that corresponding desirable behavior should be pointed out and approved, so that a feeling of satisfaction may come from doing the desirable thing rather than a feeling of guilt or shame from doing the undesirable thing.

Help children analyze their own situations. If we are to teach children to approach situations thoughtfully, we must teach them to estimate the outcomes of their behavior. They need assistance in doing this, and we should help them think through and see the outcomes of what they do in so far as possible. If we plan group activity with children and think through with them the decisions that they must make as a group, we are helping each child do the same in connection with his own personal affairs. The traditional method of the teacher is to plan each day's work and carry the children along with what has been prepared for them. In the interests of mental health it would be better if teachers could take children into their confidence and plan with them what they are to do and help them anticipate the outcomes that are to be expected. Opportunities occur many times during every day to discuss choices to be made in school, and every time we help children to think about the outcomes of their choices we are helping them to face reality with more confidence.

Be cheerful and enthusiastic when doing routine and boresome bits of work. Children adopt the moods and attitudes of those with whom they associate. Thus it is the teacher's duty to shape the class mood by constantly maintaining an optimistic and enthusiastic frame of mind. Teachers should try not to let the little irritations of the day undermine their equilibrium and should endeavor to maintain buoyance and enthusiasm.

PROBLEMS AND EXERCISES FOR DISCUSSION

1. Give illustrations of what pupils do to gain the attention of the teacher by annoying the teacher or other pupils.

2. A pupil persists in whispering, partly because he is very active and nervous and partly to draw attention to himself. The teacher knows that the best thing to do is to ignore the whispering, but it is extremely irritating, disrupts the work of the class, and tends to become infectious. What should be done in such circumstances?

3. Why should calling a boy lazy make him all the more lazy?

4. Is it better to expect habits to be broken gradually, with a little improvement each day, or is it better to break off a bad practice all at once and completely? Give illustrations where each seems to be the preferable procedure.

5. You take a long ride with a young child. He becomes very restless and starts teasing you by throwing small bits of paper at you or pulling your dress or hair. He has grown tired of sitting still and wishes to play. He wants you to respond to him, to throw things back, or to push him away playfully. Natural responses are to become severe, harsh, threatening, and angry and to force the child to desist and become quiet; but these are not the best ways of meeting the situation. Formulate a procedure for handling a child under such circumstances.

6. What are some bad habits which are set up in a child by scolding? By threatening without carrying out the threat? By insisting on perfect discipline?

7. Every situation contains some elements that can be admired and praised. Why do some parents and teachers find it hard to praise or admire?

8. It is possible to give too little help in attacking a new task or problem. Is it possible to give too much help? What happens when one gives too much help? How can one tell just how much help is needed?

9. Give an illustration of a time when it benefits a person to tell him something unfavorable about himself or to criticize him.

10. Reconcile these two statements: "Do not accept exercises which are done in a careless or slipshod manner." "Do not hold standards which are too high. Parents and teachers must tolerate a certain amount of accident, laxness in conduct, breaking of rules, and forgetfulness."

11. What plans can a teacher make in coöperation with her class? What must a teacher plan or even accept as

regulations from higher authorities that cannot be planned with the pupils? Would it be desirable if the pupils could have a larger share in this planning? How could pupils be made to feel that they have a larger share in planning?

CHAPTER XII

DISCIPLINE

Discipline in school ought to be considered a definite phase of the mental-hygiene program and should be carried out in accordance with the principles suggested previously in this book. Discipline thought of as obedience and docility usually implies habits and methods which are quite out of harmony with principles of mental hygiene as commonly accepted. No matter what results the teacher wishes to achieve with a class, to think of these in terms of docility, quietness, obedience, and punishment for infractions of the rules is certain to carry with it other outcomes which are harmful. One can achieve desirable outcomes more easily by approaching the problem of discipline from quite a different point of view. Discipline depends fundamentally on better understanding on the part of the teacher of the pupil's wants and desires and his modes of gaining them and an understanding by the child of the teacher's wishes. Probably most disciplinary situations can be taken care of with little difficulty if the teacher really understands the forces acting upon the child, his motives, and the mechanisms at work by which he gains relief and satisfaction. Disciplinary difficulties frequently arise because teachers do not approach them as problems to be understood, but as situations to be met. The error in the way in which most school disciplinary problems are met comes from treating symptoms rather than going back to the fundamental causes of these symptoms.

Typical methods for dealing with whispering* in school (and whispering has been found from several studies to be the most irritating and frequent form of misbehavior) are to reprimand the child or to punish him in some way by setting him apart, by keeping him after school, or by assigning extra tasks. These methods of discipline are seldom found satisfactory, for instead of trying to discover why the child whispers an attempt is made to deal directly with whispering. On the other hand, if a teacher tries to discover why a pupil is whispering, it may be found that a pupil has nothing to do, that the work is so difficult that the pupil cannot do what is expected, that the pupil finds the work uninteresting and dull, or that there are interesting remarks that one child wishes to make to another child. Again, it may be found that children whisper in order to attract attention. If the teacher would take the trouble to find out why the child is whispering, she might find it possible to take more satisfactory steps toward dealing with this behavior. If the child does not know where the place is in the lesson and is trying to find out, the teacher ought to study the problem of helping the child to keep up with what is going on in class. If the work is too difficult for the pupil, some sort of adjustment ought to be made in fitting tasks to the pupil's abilities. If the work is uninteresting, the teacher should ask herself what there is of interest for her class in the particular lesson of the day and endeavor to couple the topic of the day's work with some definite interest or challenge that the pupils may feel.

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* Whispering is used as an illustration here, not because it is a serious misdemeanor, but because it is most troublesome and annoying to teachers. In Wickman's study (*Children's Behaviour and Teachers' Attitudes*) whispering occupies first place in lists of school offenses as reported by teachers. In a busy and happy schoolroom orderly whispering or talking in low tones will be found as a natural accompaniment to certain types of activities. Children should learn, however, that one does not talk or whisper when another person is talking and " has the floor." The annoyance which many teachers feel toward whispering is the product of their own attitude toward classroom " order," and this irritation would vanish if whispering could be recognized as a natural form of expression and one which is consistent with good order in the classroom.

It perhaps would be an exaggeration to say that all cases of disciplinary problems in school are the fault of the teacher or, again, to assert that every disciplinary problem may be solved by merely finding out the cause back of it. Certain pupils tend to exhibit temperamental or constitutional deficiencies which make it difficult for them to show normal inhibitions, and a method of dealing with a large number of pupils would be totally inadequate for the one exceptionally difficult child in the class. However, the solution of most disciplinary problems lies in a better understanding of the situation, the child's nature, and his needs and in an attempt to fit the life of the school to the abilities and interests of the pupils. Special study of certain pupils that do not respond to the ordinary appeals may be required. Every teacher, if she is to be a wise disciplinarian, must gain a better understanding of the mental life of her children.

Teachers find that they receive their greatest help in understanding disciplinary problems by recourse to principles of mental hygiene. When it is understood that misconduct by a pupil usually is a *symptom* of mental disorder, superficial and temporary perhaps, but sometimes deep-seated and permanent, and that one should seek the cause and in each case aim to prevent conduct disorders by removing the cause — then real gain is made in handling disciplinary situations in school. Misconduct is a *symptom*. A physician today does not try to remedy symptoms; he searches for the cause. If there is rheumatism in the joints, he advises an X-ray of the teeth, to discover if root infection of the teeth is feeding poison into the blood stream. The wise teacher does not attempt to correct misbehavior by punishment or repression, as that merely reaches the symptom; rather, she searches for the underlying cause in unfortunate school or home adjustments and tries to effect a rearrangement of the irritating situation, which in turn will cause the misconduct to vanish.

Many disciplinary practices are quite contrary to the principles of mental hygiene which have just been elaborated. It is not common, however, to find arbitrary and punitive disciplinary measures defended, even though they are commonly practiced. One writer, however, H. W. James, elaborated the punitive theory of discipline into a system which is described in his own words in the following quotation:*

> This article aims to correct in some measure the evident lack of disciplinary devices. It reports the opinions of forty-six experienced principals, supervisors, and teachers as to the manner in which specific school offenses should be dealt with. The data were obtained from graduate students in classes conducted by the writer in the University of Pittsburgh during the summer session of 1926 and 1927. All the students were experienced teachers in Pennsylvania.
>
> These teachers classified school offenses into seventeen different types, as shown in the following outline, and then agreed on suitable punishments for each type. It is not intended that all the punishments listed under an offense should be used at each violation. The punishments are arranged in the order of severity and should be used in order as far as it is necessary to control the situation. Before any punishment is administered, positive means of rewarding the pupil for good conduct should be used. Furthermore, the teacher should talk with the offending pupil privately about the misconduct.

SCHOOL OFFENSES AND SUGGESTED CONDUCT GUIDES

1. Truancy
    - *a.* Keep in after school to make up work
    - *b.* Report case to parents
    - *c.* Report case to public officer
2. Impertinence
    - *a.* Oral reproof
    - *b.* Put offender in place by a remark that will enlist pupils on your side

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* James, H. W. — "Punishments Recommended for School Offenses," *Elementary School Journal*, 29 : 129–131, October, 1928.

  - *c.* Corporal punishment
  - *d.* Dismissal from class

3. The " show-off " attitude
   - *a.* Put offender in place by a remark that will enlist pupils on your side
   - *b.* Removal of privileges
   - *c.* Public acknowledgment of fault
4. Purposeful misbehavior in the classroom
   - *a.* Removal of privileges
   - *b.* Oral reproof
   - *c.* Corporal punishment
5. Purposeful misbehavior outside the classroom
   - *a.* Oral reproof
   - *b.* Suspension
   - *c.* Expulsion
6. Dishonesty in assigned work
   - *a.* Removal of credit
   - *b.* Assignment of extra work
   - *c.* Seat pupil apart from group
7. Poor work due to lack of effort
   - *a.* Keep in after school to make up work
   - *b.* Removal of privileges
8. Theft
   - *a.* Replacement of property
   - *b.* Report case to parents
   - *c.* Report case to public officer
9. Immorality
   - *a.* Oral reproof
   - *b.* Report case to parents
   - *c.* Suspension
10. Destruction of property
    - *a.* Repair damage if possible; if impossible, pay for damage

  - *b*. Report case to parents
  - *c*. Report case to public officer

11. Lying about other pupils
    - *a*. Oral reproof
    - *b*. Public acknowledgment of fault
12. Forging signatures
    - *a*. Oral reproof
    - *b*. Report case to parents
13. Disobeying of regulations due to thoughtlessness
    - *a*. Oral reproof
    - *b*. Removal of privileges
14. Overzealousness in recitation
    - *a*. Assignment of extra work
15. Open rebellion
    - *a*. Corporal punishment
    - *b*. Suspension
    - *c*. Expulsion
16. Bullying
    - *a*. Oral reproof
    - *b*. Removal of privileges
17. Tardiness
    - *a*. Keep in after school to make up work
    - *b*. Report case to parents
    - *c*. Report case to public officer

This statement did not go unchallenged but received a vigorous rebuttal in a subsequent article by Carleton W. Washburne, Superintendent of Schools in Winnetka, Illinois, and Frances Dummer.* Superintendent Washburne points out the fallacy in Mr. James's proposals. In brief, he indicates that Mr. James has set up a very inflexible and arbitrary system. The same treatment is recommended for all pupils according to the offense whereas it is well recognized that the offense is merely the response to a variety of previous experiences. Mr. James's proposal is unsatisfactory, therefore, in the first place because it entirely disregards conditions relating to the offense. In the second place, understanding and sympathetic readjustment are more needed than repressive and punitive measures. School misconduct and offenses are not something to be repressed but call for reëducation, change of environment, correction of unfortunate attitudes and habits of thought, and the substitution of new and positive forces which will enable the child to make adjustments that are less objectionable and more satisfying to himself and to others. Superintendent Washburne provided in his reply three case studies which so concretely illustrate his point of view that they are worth quoting here in full:

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* Washburne, C. W., and Dummer, F. — " Punishments Recommended for School Offenses: A Reply," *Elementary School Journal*, 29 : 774–786, June, 1929.

> Alice, an attractive girl of ten, was in the fifth grade. In telling about her, the rather tense teacher said, " From the beginning of the year, she has been getting more and more on my nerves. There are times when I feel that I shall scream if she remains in my room another day." Alice on her part wept night after night at home because she felt that her teacher was unfair and unduly severe and did not like her.
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> From the teacher's point of view, Alice was a constant disturber. She bothered children around her by continual whispering; she talked out loud when the class was sup-

posed to be quiet; she interrupted; she was constantly out of her seat wandering around the room to sharpen her pencil needlessly, to drop a piece of paper in the wastebasket, or perhaps without any reason whatever. For months the teacher had tried to help her overcome her bad habits. She had talked with her kindly, explaining how unfair she was to other children who wanted to work, and how she was developing habits which interfered with her own work and which would be increasingly hard to overcome the longer they were continued. Alice apparently understood and promised to try to improve. For several weeks there were many kindly reminders, but no improvement was noticed; in fact, Alice was, if anything, more of a disturber than before. The teacher, somewhat discouraged, resorted to " methods." At first, they were encouraging methods, such as keeping a chart to see whether the time between disturbances could be lengthened. Later, as continued failure increased her discouragement, the teacher's talks with Alice were more severe in tone, and the methods became punitive, the child being required, for example, to stay after school to make up wasted time or to sit apart from the other children.

From Alice's point of view, her teacher was unfair. Alice insisted both to her teacher and to her mother that she was trying to be thoughtful. The scoldings and conspicuous reminders made her desperately unhappy. Finally, she too became discouraged and came to dislike her teacher to such an extent that she no longer cared to try.

At this point outside aid was called. It was discovered that, though the routine physical examination performed at school did not detect the fact, Alice was suffering from a hyperthyroid condition, for which she was being treated by the family physician. He said that her restlessness and hyperactivity were caused by her physical condition and that, until this improved, she could not be expected to be as quiet as other children. The confinement of the classroom would tend to increase her restlessness. Her own efforts could control her activity for a short period of time, but at the end of that period the increased tension would result in greater activity. He recommended that, when Alice began to be restless, a task should be found for her, such as passing paper or milk bottles or going on an errand. This would provide a legitimate outlet for her activity. After such release, she could sit down and work quietly for a time. He also suggested that no mention of her failings be made but that she be praised for any real success. The feeling of failure caused unhappiness and strain, which resulted in increased activity.

After the situation was explained to the teacher, an entirely new method of handling Alice was adopted. By the end of the year her physical condition had improved somewhat. Her school behavior also improved — more than could be expected from the improvement in her physical condition. When she became restless, she was given a task which provided a socially acceptable outlet for her energy. The teacher discontinued her scolding or scolded as little as was humanly possible for a teacher who had twenty-nine other children to deal with. By May, Alice and the teacher were again on friendly terms; all traces of antagonism had vanished. Because she had ample opportunity for activity, Alice was able to concentrate much better during the periods when she was at her desk. Therefore, she did not disturb others, and her work improved. At the end of the year all was going well.

Had the teacher referred to Mr. James's list, the child would have been found guilty of:

Impertinence
The " show-off " attitude
Purposeful misbehavior in the classroom
Poor work due to lack of effort

Disobeying of regulations due to thoughtlessness
Overzealousness in recitation

For each offense, after the teacher had talked "with the offending pupil privately about the misconduct," she would have been given one or more of the following punishments:

Oral reproof
Put offender in place by a remark that will enlist pupils on your side
Corporal punishment
Dismissal from class
Removal of privileges
Public acknowledgment of fault
Keep in after school to make up work
Assignment of extra work

As it was, the teacher wasted much time and energy in treating symptoms, before she finally discovered the cause with the help of the counselor. Had she sought the cause in the first place, her own irritation and Alice's unhappiness and annoying tendencies could have been largely avoided.

John, a fourth-grade boy, was considered a dreamer and a disturber by his teacher. Although he seemed capable of doing good work when some one kept him at it, he was accomplishing practically nothing. He made silly faces to get the attention of other children and make them laugh. In order to have some one to talk to, he poked children around him who were working. At other times he sat and dreamed, oblivious of everything. Sometimes he twisted his tie for minutes at a time or chewed the eraser on his pencil, staring blankly at nothing. When he awoke to his surroundings, he would heave a long sigh. His expression was unhappy and wistful except when he was grimacing.

His teacher asked for help only after she had become desperate. She insisted that she had tried every known device from praising to scolding, from special rewards to extra work and keeping the boy after school. She had given him work to take home and had asked his mother by telephone to help him, but his mother did not seem to care, for the work was not done. " I have done all I can for him," the teacher said, " and I am about ready to wash my hands of him."

Investigation began with a psychological test. The teacher's opinion as to his ability was confirmed. Not only was he capable of doing the work of his grade, but he was able to do it so easily that the regular amount of drill bored him. His work habits were exceedingly poor. When alone with a special teacher who could keep him at work, he progressed at about twice the usual rate. The subject chosen for special help was arithmetic, in which he was the farthest behind. It was found that he had an analytical type of mind. It irked him to be told how to do a thing if he could find out for himself, and he was always interested in knowing the why of things. He was therefore told just enough of a new process to start him asking questions and was allowed to work out the rest. He thrived on this method and used to ask the teacher three or four times a day whether he could not come in for a little extra time.

A second line of investigation led to the boy's home. As the mother opened the door for the counselor, a boy of six was in her arms. Before she sat down, she placed him in a high chair padded with pillows and arranged with special straps so that he would not slip. His head, arms, and legs moved constantly and uncontrollably so that every few minutes she had to straighten him from an uncomfortable position. When the telephone rang, she carried the chair and the boy to the telephone.

In the course of half an hour the counselor learned that the child in the chair had suffered from encephalitis (sleeping sickness) at the age of sixteen months. He could not be left even for an instant except when he was in bed lest he might hurt himself by an involuntary jerk or fall. As the expense of medical care prevented the family from having any service, the mother had to do all the housework as well as care for the child. She knew that John did not get a fair share of attention. Once he had said to her, " Mother, won't you love me, too, sometimes? " But what was she to do?

In the light of his home story, John's school behavior became intelligible. Naturally, he craved the love and affection his mother felt for him but had neither time nor strength to show. Lacking them, he sought other forms of satisfaction. Had he found in the achievement of school tasks commensurate with his ability a source of intellectual satisfaction, he might well have become a " star " pupil. The work bored him, however, and the way in which it was presented irritated him. He retreated into a world of day-dreams, interspersed with bids for any kind of attention he could draw toward himself. Scolding, punishment, extra work, even kind reminders which dragged him back from his world of dreams, only served to make school an unpleasant place, from which he tended to withdraw more and more. Instead of helping him to overcome his difficulties, the methods used only served to increase them.

What was the solution, or, rather, since the goal is not yet reached, what was the plan? In the first place, John was transferred from the teacher who, through no fault of her own, had a rather stern personality to one who had charm, warmth, and gaiety. Other factors in the school situation made the change logical without the need for explaining the reason to either teacher. Something of the family situation was explained to the new teacher, and it was suggested that she visit the home. The boy's need for affection and attention, of which he was not getting a normal amount, was pointed out. It was suggested that any little ways in which she could make him feel wanted and loved, so long as they did not single him out as different from other children, would be healthful for him although probably unwise for most children of his age who receive a normal amount of emotional satisfaction at home.

In the second place, John's achievement during the short period of special help in arithmetic was discussed with the new teacher. The methods of arousing his interest and keeping him at work were outlined, and new methods as yet untried were suggested. It was recommended to the teacher that, in so far as she was able to do so without disrupting her regular classroom activities, she employ these methods in order to keep up his interest. " He needs to find outlets for his energies other than daydreams and monkeyshines," the counselor urged. " Consider him not as a ' problem child,' but as a boy whose needs are a challenge to your skill as a teacher and to your wisdom as a person."

As it is the practice in the Winnetka schools for a teacher to remain with one group for two years, John is still with the teacher who accepted him as a child in need of a friend. She began by winning him completely. When he felt certain that he belonged to her and to the new group, the need for constantly attracting attention lessened. When the old habits reasserted themselves, the temporary withdrawal of the teacher's approval had far more effect in checking them than did the disciplinary measures of the former teacher, who he felt did not like him. His interest in school work has been stimulated so that he has worked harder and is beginning to gain the feeling of success. The daydreams, the most difficult of all the old undesirable responses to eradicate because they gave the most satisfaction, are beginning to disappear. Though still far from the goal of " usual behavior," John is making fine progress.

Here again is a case where punishment would have been not only vain but cruel. In so far as punitive measures were used by the first teacher, they aggravated the difficulty. Treatment, to be effective, had to be based not on the forms of the child's misbehavior but on an understanding of the needs.

The day before school opened in the autumn of 1926 the new counselor was warned by an old teacher that she would soon have a difficult case to deal with. " Larry is in the sixth grade. He has been a remedial reader ever since I have been in the system. He had special help all last year, and he just seems hopeless. And his behavior! "

When the case was actually referred to the counselor, Larry's misdeeds were listed as constant tardiness, whistling and talking out loud in class, disobedience amounting almost to open defiance, inability to concentrate on work, and marked reading disability. The counselor was asked whether she could help. She began by visiting the room to make observations before Larry knew that she was interested in him. Once during a reading period she went around the room asking various children to read aloud to her. When it came to Larry's turn, he jumped up, nearly knocking her down, and rushed out of the room without a word. A few days later Larry was called in to " do some work " for the counselor. He was asked to help move furniture, go on errands, etc., until a friendly contact was established. Then he was given a psychological test. Alternates were substituted for all tests involving reading. In spite of this, he rated in the low 70's on the Stanford-Binet test. The subject of reading, which had not been mentioned previously, was gradually approached. After much blocking and embarrassment, Larry finally told his story. He had hated reading and found it hard from the very beginning. One day in the first grade before he came to

Winnetka, he had been shamed by the teacher in front of all the other children because he, the largest boy in the room, could not read as well as could some of the smaller children. (Larry had always been large for his age.) The other children had laughed. That made him dislike reading. Since then he had avoided reading whenever he could. Of course, he was far behind in reading and behind in all the other subjects also. He could not read the directions of the problems in arithmetic. His spelling was very poor. He could not read his social science. The only thing he liked about school was recess. The playground teacher said that he was a born leader and took responsibility well.

The treatment of Larry's difficulties began with help in reading. His teacher was asked to be as forbearing in relation to his conduct as was consistent with the good of the class. For several days during his " reading lesson " the book was not touched. He was encouraged to talk about his feelings of hurt and shame and embarrassment. After a time, instead of flushing and stammering, he could talk calmly and freely. At this point the teacher began to make suggestions as to the fun to be derived from reading and to read to him interesting bits from books and newspapers. One or two attractive books were on the table each day. Finally, the day came when he said that he would like to be able to read. The teacher offered to help, and regular instruction, still interspersed with conversation to keep the atmosphere pleasant, began. In three weeks his oral-reading ability increased two full years as measured by the Gray Standardized Oral Reading Check Tests.

In the meantime Larry's teacher had become exasperated and was very severe. His behavior grew constantly worse. A new young teacher noticed him and, knowing that the counselor was working with him, asked about him. " There is no reason for Larry's acting the way he does. I am sure he has possibilities. I would like to have a chance at him." The principal arranged the transfer. The first day the new teacher had him in her room she went out at recess. Some of the boys were spinning tops. She got Larry to teach her how to do it. After recess she spoke of his skill in the presence of other children.

During the next few days the teacher and the counselor went over the year's work, modifying the requirements to fit Larry's ability, which, in spite of his gain in reading, was far below the average of the room. The revision of standards was an easy task as compared with the ensuing job of finding special materials. However, the teacher took the responsibility as the result of having asked for Larry. Furthermore, she asked to be allowed to see what she could do with him by herself. This request, too, was readily granted by the counselor. Larry's subsequent behavior was therefore not followed closely. Periodic inquiries revealed the fact that he ceased to be a notorious character. Because the demands made on him were within the limits of his ability, he was experiencing success . . . . in his work. Although still "dull and backward," he was living successfully and apparently happily at that level.

Before adjustment was made, Larry's misbehaviors almost ran the gamut of Mr. James's list. Punishment was the last thing he needed, however. The school itself had been partly to blame because it had failed to recognize that he had not the capacity for the regular curriculum and had subjected him to the constant irritation of unsuccessful effort. The realization that he was different from the others was too painful for him to face. When his weakness was likely to be exposed, he resorted to evasions, such as not trying or refusing to do what he was asked. Had the school recognized his relatively low intelligence from the beginning and adjusted its work accordingly, the unfortunate behavior need never have arisen.

In order to illustrate more succinctly the difference between traditional arbitrary and repressive methods of handling misconduct in school situations and the mental-hygiene point of view, five frequent forms of misconduct in school are here given, with commonly practiced but unsatisfactory methods of handling, which are criticized and then followed by proposals for dealing with the situation according to mental-hygiene principles.

Carelessness in work. A pupil passes in work day after day which is untidy and slovenly. The lines of handwriting may not be even. There may be smudges, grease spots, or ink spots on the paper, and the corners of the paper may be torn or twisted.

Unsatisfactory proposal for handling. 1. Attempt to find the reason for the carelessness in work.

2. Show the pupil the necessity for work which is neater and more carefully done.

3. If this does not bring results, warn the child that he will be penalized for continued carelessness.

4. If the child persists in turning in careless work, make him do it over and continue to do this until he realizes that it is cheaper to spend a little more time and care in preparing his work than to be penalized by having to do it over.

Discussion of proposed method of handling. In the foregoing plan for disciplinary measures there is apparently no relation between the attempt to find the reasons for the carelessness and the measures for dealing with it. Probably the same measures would have been used no matter what the cause may have been. No relation is seen between the proposed measures and their educational implications. If one were to investigate a case of this kind, it might be found that a child is unable to do the work and consequently covers up his deficiency by carelessness in the way in which he does it. Or perhaps the child comes from a home in which habits of carelessness are engendered.

Method of dealing with the situation on mental-hygiene principles. Careless work is a symptom of some underlying maladjustment that needs correcting. The teacher who attempts to correct the symptom — namely, carelessness — without first understanding the reason why the child uses carelessness or untidiness as a method of adjustment cannot really meet the situation. Let us suppose, for instance, that the child has poor home conditions for doing neat work — a home that is dirty, untidy, with everything strewn around in confusion. Such a child may never have learned to feel pride in work that is really neat. The teacher then must attempt to make the child feel some sort of satisfaction in doing his work in ways that are neat and orderly rather than in ways that are disorderly. The teacher should find something in connection with the way in which the work is done to praise. It does not do to praise neatness in the work of other children because this child simply does not know how to do work that has neatness. He must be shown how to acquire neatness in simple and easily performed tasks, made to feel satisfaction in having done them neatly, and little by little taught to extend these practices to larger tasks and assignments.

Defiance. A pupil, on being asked to go to the blackboard to write an answer to a question, replies to the teacher, " You can't make me."

Unsatisfactory proposal for handling. The teacher should repeat the command and by dint of authority and persistence " win out." Then she should talk to the pupil after class and appeal to his sense of fairness and good sportsmanship.

Criticism. Teachers are only too prone to talk to pupils before they are aware of the forces acting on the pupils. Pupils are normally not insolent or defiant, and where a pupil shows defiance to a teacher there must be something in the pupil's attitude which makes him believe that he must react in this way. To attempt to make the pupil see the unreasonableness of his behavior before knowing what pattern of ideas and circumstances led to this behavior will on the whole be fruitless.

Suggested treatment according to mental-hygiene principles. In a case where a pupil is impertinent or defiant, he most probably believes that he must make some sort of bold response in the situation or that he must assert his prowess in order to justify himself in some way. The skillful teacher will pass over the incident with as little excitement as possible. It is no sign of weakness for the teacher to disregard the pupil's statement entirely and not press his recitation. To attempt to force him to recite against his will can only aggravate matters and make the situation more tense. Not only that, but undoubtedly this would tend to give the pupil a certain amount of satisfaction that he perhaps expects from such a situation as coming to some sort of conflict with the teacher and perhaps getting the upper hand.

Moreover, the teacher should not do anything in the way of attempting to correct matters until she understands why the pupil believes that he must rebel in this way. This can be ascertained by talking to the pupil and finding out his interests and attitudes toward the situation in school and out. It is probable that one will find that the pupil believes that the teacher is unfair in some way or that he is being picked upon, or it may be that having to assert himself defiantly at home he carries over to the school the same sort of behavior in situations like those at home in which he is requested or ordered to do things. Only when the teacher has discovered what the set of ideas is that actuates behavior should she talk to the pupil and attempt to show him in what way he is mistaken. If the case is one in which the pupil has some sort of emotional block against reciting and refuses to participate in class work, it may be found that he is the object of ridicule of other pupils or in some way finds it extremely distasteful to make any sort of overt response. Whatever the situation is, one should attempt to correct the source of the difficulty rather than to fight the pupil and try to make him conform by the use of force.

Habits of inattention. This pupil is continually playing with something on his desk which has no connection with the lesson. When called upon, he does not know the place, has not been listening to the question, has been reading something not connected with the lesson, and generally shows marked inattention.

Unsatisfactory proposal for handling. 1. Speak sharply to the pupil.

2. Explain to the pupil the significance of the material of the lesson and urge upon him the desirability of paying attention and practicing habits of success.

3. Remind him that, if he continues to be inattentive, there is a strong probability that he will not pass in his school work.

Criticism. All these measures are of the immediate and emergency type. They are directed toward the symptoms of behavior rather than at the underlying conditions which cause it. As long as these conditions persist the child will continue to be inattentive, and no kind of threatening or scolding or persuading on the part of the teacher can hope to counteract the forces involved.

Proposed solution in accordance with principles of mental hygiene. The inattentive child needs to be studied. The teacher should ask the question, "Why is this child inattentive?" Is he in ill health? Is it because he cannot do the work of this class? Is it that he does not know the meaning of the words, does not understand the problems? Is this child uninterested in the activities and work of this class? Is this child being thwarted in his life outside the school and does he find it necessary to indulge in daydreams to gain compensatory satisfactions? Before the problem of inattention can satisfactorily be met, the teacher must have some knowledge of the cause of the inattention. Whatever the cause may be, it should be changed or removed as the first step toward bringing the child back to close attention to the work at hand. If the work is too difficult or too easy, perhaps the child needs to be put in a grade lower or higher than his present grade. Perhaps the child has defective vision or hearing such that sensory stimuli that claim the attention of normal children are weak and ineffective for this child. Whatever the cause, it should be studied first and remedial measures should be based on consideration of this factor.

Theft. A set of measuring instruments was taken from the tool room in the machine shop of the school. The only pupils who have access to the machine shop are the two boys who check the tools in and out each week. Therefore there is strong suspicion that one of these boys is responsible for the disappearance of the instruments.

Unsatisfactory proposal for handling. Call in each of the boys in turn and charge them with having stolen the instruments. If one of the boys admits having taken the instruments, punish him by expulsion from the class, suspension from school, or both.

Discussion. The method of charging each boy with having stolen the instruments on inconclusive evidence is not wise. It only invites denial on the part of the boys and makes the situation more difficult than ever to meet in a rational way. It is also doubtful whether punishment is the proper method to employ with the boy who did steal the instruments.

Method of handling in accordance with mental-hygiene principles. According to mental-hygiene principles an important factor in a case of theft is the fact that some one felt the pressure to steal, which indicates a situation with some tenseness and dissatisfaction on his part so that it seemed to him necessary to break down the accepted inhibitions of society and take property that did not belong to him. The loss of the property to the school is a small matter from the educational point of view, and one is also inclined to overlook the breaking of a rule of society. The only reason one would try to discover the boy who committed the theft would be to remedy his situation so that he will be less likely to do the same thing again.

To discover the boy who committed the theft, one should make a thorough preliminary investigation, studying the conditions surrounding both boys as thoroughly as possible and noting small details concerning their sensitiveness in reaction. Usually in a case of theft careful observation will indicate something in connection with one or the other of the persons suspected that tends to pin the deed on him. If it is money that is taken, one finds that the pupil has extra money to spend. If valuable instruments are taken, it may be found that the pupil is particularly interested in the processes in which these instruments are used. Usually a pupil will give himself away by extreme sensitiveness or a tendency to be interested in the circumstances surrounding the act.

Punishment is probably one of the less satisfactory methods of helping the boy who actually took the instruments. From the point of view of mental hygiene, disciplinary action should enable the boy to meet such situations again in more socially acceptable ways. If the boy is genuinely interested in some pursuit where these instruments should be used, attempt should be made to help the boy earn money to purchase the instruments himself, to persuade his parents to make it possible for him to own the instruments that he so much craves, or if he sold the instruments for money, either to help him get money in acceptable ways or to reduce the pressure on him of the necessity for money. Talking with the boy and showing him why his act was a mistake may help. However, one should talk with the boy not from the point of view of blaming him or disciplining him but to attempt to make him see how he can meet his own needs and desires in ways that would be more satisfying to him on the whole than by resorting to thieving.

Destruction of property. The teacher comes back to the room after being called out, and it is evident that the class has been disorderly. After a bit she notices that an electric-light socket has been ripped out.

Unsatisfactory proposal for handling. She immediately decides that the class needs severe disciplining and keeps them after school for three quarters of an hour and the next day curtails their recess privilege.

Criticism. To meet such a situation by punishment, curtailment of privileges, and the like does not remedy a situation in the least and simply intensifies the antagonism between class and teacher.

Suggested method of handling in accordance with mental-hygiene principles. As in every other situation of this kind, it is evident that the class has been given more responsibility than it has learned to handle. Until a group has learned to conduct itself without disorder, it ought not to be left for too long a period. For a group to have habits of self-control and inhibition is an accomplishment to be learned just as any other habit is learned. In addition, pride in classroom and in the school building is something that this particular group had not acquired. Care for property, especially for public property, is something that must be learned and that one cannot expect a group to exercise naturally. After such an act of vandalism has been committed there is little that can be done. Such situations must be met in a preventive manner, and punishment is relatively ineffective.

To meet such situations in a preventive way, there are two courses that suggest themselves. One method is to concentrate on a campaign to develop pride in the school building. The pupils must be taught that this is their building, for which they are responsible.

Posters may be placed in conspicuous places in the corridors and cafeterias, appealing to pride in the care of school property. There should be discussions in the home room and in the assemblies relating to care of the school building and classrooms. Attention to such matters is not something that can be done once and for all, but opportunity for the discussion of these matters must be provided again and again. The effectiveness of much of our national advertising is due to the persistence with which the appeal is made day after day. When one wishes to build up attitudes of respect or pride with regard to school property, not only should there be concentrated campaigns for establishing such attitudes, but the issue must be repeatedly brought up at not too infrequent intervals.

The second step that can be taken is to train the class to feel a sense of responsibility when the teacher is out of the room. This can be done by making the children feel a pride in accepting responsibility for their own behavior when the teacher is out of the room and by giving them practice at intervals in taking this responsibility. The teacher may do this by first stepping out of the room for a second or two just to give the children a chance to feel what it is like to be alone and then on her return to the room praising them for the excellent order they have kept. The teacher may do this for a number of days, lengthening the time that she stays out each day and always making the children feel proud of their self-control when they are by themselves.

PROBLEMS AND EXERCISES FOR DISCUSSION

1. Does punishment have any place in education? In general, what must take the place of punishment?
2. Can school discipline be carried out without show of authority? Can all pupils be treated alike in this respect? Why?
3. Can a teacher generally afford to allow misdemeanors to pass without correction? What educational principles apply?
4. Can you apply the laws of learning to disciplinary situations?
5. Is it wise for a teacher to postpone action in meeting a disciplinary situation? Why is this sometimes desirable? Why may it be undesirable? In answering, rely on principles of education and not on the protection or convenience of the teacher.
6. It has been said that it is the sureness of punishment and not its severity that is effective. What educational principles are back of this statement?
7. If it is found that poor health or poor home background is responsible for misdemeanors, does this condition excuse a pupil? The teacher? The school? What is the responsibility of the pupil? What is the responsibility of the teacher? Of the school?
8. Give illustrations of treating symptoms in discipline.
9. Discuss methods of handling these school offenses:
   (*a*) Continual " wisecracks "
   (*b*) Smoking on school property
   (*c*) Rudeness or impudence
   (*d*) Cruelty to smaller children
   (*e*) Wasting time in study
   (*f*) Tardiness
   (*g*) Truancy
   (*h*) Tattling

CHAPTER XIII

ORGANIZATION OF THE SCHOOL IN THE INTERESTS OF MENTAL HYGIENE

Almost every aspect of school organization and management influences more or less sharply the mental health of its pupils. In order to develop desirable habits, the school environment ought to be propitious. One of the fundamental cravings of children is success, and the school should be so organized that success will be the outcome of the various activities undertaken.

The curriculum* is the first aspect of the school program which is of importance in developing and maintaining good mental health. Subjects and activities in the school should be selected in the light of their interest to children and with a view to their significance in the life outside the school. Too often children lose interest in school or fail to make satisfactory progress and adjustment in school because the curriculum which they have selected is dry, inadequate, and far removed from their youthful interests. The school curriculum should have a vital relationship to the whole social order. A high-school boy remarked to me recently that he believed the school curriculum was a whole generation behind social developments. The deadwood in the curriculum must be swept away, and in its place topics should be substituted which help boys and girls appreciate and which interpret the complex civilization about them, so that they can take their places as efficient and responsible members of society. In so far as the curriculum fails to contribute to the present needs of everyday life, it remains meaningless to the child. Topics should be chosen with regard to their interest for the child as well as for considerations of social significance.

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* See Averill, L. A. — *The Hygiene of Instruction*, Chap. 10–11; Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928, for a more extended discussion of the mental-hygiene values of the curriculum.

As children approach adolescence and vocational choices loom up, differentiation of the curriculum should be provided to take care of differences in interests and proficiencies.

The second factor in the school's organization which affects the mental health of children is the classification of pupils.* Grades are supposed to represent

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* The matter of grouping children is at present very much an open issue. On the one hand, many have championed grouping by ability. See:

Mort, P. R. — *The Individual Pupil in the Management of Class and School;* The American Book Company, 1928.

Symonds, P. M. — *Measurement in Secondary Education;* The Macmillan Company, 1929.

Symonds, P. M. — " Homogeneous Grouping," *Teachers College Record*, 32 : 501–517, March, 1931.

Turney, A. H. — " Shall Ability Grouping Be Discontinued? " *Elementary School Journal*, 32 : 227–232, November, 1931.

On the other hand, ability grouping has had its severe critics. See:

Keliher, A. V. — *A Critical Study of Homogeneous Grouping with a Critique of Measurement as the Basis for Classification*, Contributions to stages of mental development. To be classified by chronological age is inadequate because children of the same age differ widely in mental development. Mental development and social development are not synonymous. For most of the learning situations in school, homogeneity of a class in mental development is more important than homogeneity in social development. In some situations where social give and take is more important, social development is an important factor in grouping. Care should be taken that children in the same class represent a fairly homogeneous level of mental ability. In secondary education the same principles apply; where there are several sections of the same class, pupils should be segregated by ability. It is understood of course that sectioning by ability does not by any means completely take care of the responsibility for adjustment to individual differences within the classroom.

Whatever may be the final place of intelligence and standard achievement tests in educational procedure, they already have made a lasting contribution in exposing the absurdities of mass instruction. It always

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Education, No. 452; Teachers College, Columbia University, 1931.

McGaughy, J. R. — " Homogeneous Grouping of Pupils," *Childhood Education*, 6 : 291–296, March, 1930.

Summaries of the studies on this topic may be found in:

Miller, W. S., and Otto, H. J. — " Analysis of Experimental Studies in Homogeneous Grouping," *Journal of Educational Research*, 21 : 95–102, February, 1930.

Turney, A. H. — " The Status of Ability Grouping," *Educational Administration and Supervision*, 17: 21–42, 110–127, January–February, 1931.

has been known that children at a given age level or within a school grade vary in their aptitudes and interests. It is now known that children *within* the same grade, under the usual standards of classification, may vary from one another in ability and achievement in any one subject as much as five or six years. This fact has led to a realization of how ridiculous it is to expect uniform achievement from assignments made to the children of the same grade. It is as wrong to have some pupils working at too high a level for their intelligence as it is for others to be working at too low a level.

It has been claimed that, where schools are sectioned on the basis of ability, unfortunate attitudes of inferiority and superiority develop. This is true to some extent, but these attitudes become exaggerated only when teachers and parents go out of their way to brand or stigmatize a pupil because of the section of class he is in. Considerable evidence has accumulated to indicate that there is less competition and feeling of strain when pupils are sectioned homogeneously according to ability.*

The third feature affecting school organization for mental hygiene concerns the method of instruction within the classroom. Individual instruction† has been proposed as one means for taking care of individual differences in ability. However, individual instruction fails to realize the social values of education which group instruction provides, and for this reason it is believed that group instruction with considerable emphasis on free discussion and planning is essential for the most wholesome mental development.

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* See Maller, J. B. — *Coöperation* and *Competition*, Contributions to Education, No. 384; Teachers College, Columbia University, 1929.

† See Washburne, C. W. — *Adjusting the School to the Child;* The World Book Company, 1932, for a discussion of one plan of individual instruction (the Winnetka plan) by one who is keenly sympathetic to the mental-hygiene aspects of instruction.

The meaning of the expression *individualizing instruction* as given by its advocates has no relation whatever to physical segregation. The individual instruction of a child involves the development of the proper social reactions in him as much as it does the acquisition of skills or knowledge. It shifts the emphasis to the individual child and focuses the attention upon him. It substitutes personal education for education *en masse*. It measures the effectiveness of teaching not so much by class averages and grade norms as by the progress each individual child has made in proportion to his ability. It involves the use of every possible device to determine the nature of aptitudes and interests and the extent of the ability and achievement of every child in order that the instruction may be fitted to the needs of each particular case.

Many schools are effectively individualizing instruction without materially changing their organization. Their classrooms are places where the children are active instead of passive; where they learn through their own activities in groups or as individuals, instead of listening constantly to lectures and directions given by the teachers. In such situations the children are stimulated by the equipment, the activities of companions, or the suggestions of companions or teachers to initiate, plan, and accomplish the activities that are best for them at their particular ages. Such teaching, if followed by careful checking and remedial work, provides in the right way for individual development.

The problem of motivation within the classroom again concerns hygiene. Extrinsic methods such as prizes, awards, and honors or the extensive use of competition tend, on the whole, to result in unwholesome attitudes.* Motivation ought to be based primarily on intrinsic interests in activities for their own sake, on the pleasures of group planning and participation, and on the desire to improve. Tests and examinations, when unwisely used, can do considerable harm from the mental-hygiene point of view. As climactic events determining passing or failing, they often carry with them profound emotional shock and usually are accompanied by considerable strain and followed by fatigue. Examinations ought primarily to be used by the pupil to check his own progress in learning, to help him make wise choices, and to enable the teacher to discover the effectiveness of her instruction.

The fourth feature of school organization concerns adequate facilities for social life and recreation. The extracurricular program in secondary schools, with its emphasis on clubs, athletics, and so on, is a healthy corrective to the formal work of the classroom. More and more the school must provide opportunities for social life and for healthful recreation. The home room* should provide opportunity for group discussion of problems uppermost in the children's lives as well as opportunities for the carrying out of coöperative projects. A well-planned program of clubs is valuable in providing opportunities for social development not allowed for in the more formal organization of the classroom. Participation in student councils also helps to create a feeling of responsibility and loyalty in maintaining order and discipline in accordance with school regulations. School assemblies are another means by which social integration is effected within the school and children are made to feel a responsibility for and an appreciation of the work of different groups.

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* Kilpatrick, W. H., in an article " The Scaffolding of Character-Building," *Women's Press*, 18 : 584–586, 1924, has given a very pungent critique of the use of extrinsic motivating devices.

In the fifth place, since physical and mental conditions constantly interact and modify one another, the school should provide good working conditions of temperature, light, ventilation, and the like. In planning the length of the school year, the length of the school term, and the length of the school day, proper consideration should be given to the matter of fatigue; and in planning the school program a proper balance and rotation of activities should be provided, so that fatigue effects do not occur. Recess periods should be planned to break up the monotony and strain of a long school session.

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* See Germane, C. E., and Germane, E. G. — *Character Education;* Silver, Burdett and Company, 1929, for helpful suggestions of the use of the home room in a mental-hygiene program.

Teachers often feel that much of the responsibility for mental hygiene lies without their control. The course of study is prescribed for them, and they have no alternative but to teach what is written in the course of study. Pupils are graded and sectioned by administrative officers, and the teacher is responsible for the class of children to which she is assigned, however heterogeneous it is in ability. Teachers must conform to the marking system of the school, however unsatisfactory it may be. If the school does not have an adequate social and recreational program, the individual teacher is probably unable to remedy the lack with the time and strength at her disposal. Poor working conditions of temperature, lighting, and ventilation and poorly arranged daily working programs are usually beyond the teacher's control. But it cannot be too strongly emphasized that these factors, though they may be beyond the teacher's control, do not justify the teacher's excusing herself from using good methods of instruction in the classroom. However important these matters of administration and organization are, the real focus of the development of mental habits is in the daily life of the classroom.

Even though the curriculum is unsatisfactory, a good teacher can extract nutriment from whatever is provided. Some of the best teachers in our high schools today are teachers of Latin, not because of the intrinsic interest of the subject matter, but because of their broad human sympathies and their keen understanding of adolescent interests and problems. If pupils within a class are wrongly classified, a teacher still has resources for individual adjustment within the classroom. More than this, a teacher by her spirit, her resourcefulness, her optimism, or her ability to make the best of circumstances is in a strategic position for forming habits and attitudes. Where conditions are unsatisfactory, the teacher should not wink at them or try to excuse them but, like a good mental hygienist, face them openly with her children and plan the best ways of meeting the difficulties with them.

There is never an excuse for hiding things from children, for being deceitful with them, or for misrepresenting the true situation. Lay all the cards on the table and plan with each child the best means of adjusting himself to the conditions under which he must work and play during school hours.

THE GUIDANCE PROGRAM

One of the duties of the school when pupils reach adolescence is that of preparing them for self-direction. Guidance on personal problems, those concerned with making educational choices, vocational choices, and other choices of a personal nature, should not be a haphazardly organized affair depending upon the interests of the teacher but should be carefully planned and organized.*

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* Koos, L. V., and Kefauver, G. N. — *Guidance in Secondary Schools;* The Macmillan Company, 1932, is an authoritative treatise on the organization of the guidance program.

A counselor should be placed in charge of the guidance program and definite time should be allotted to it. In the guidance program, information should be acquired concerning each pupil, his abilities, his interests, and his personal characteristics, so that he may make accurate evaluation of his own capacities. Information should also be provided concerning the offerings of the school and opportunities for vocational placement after school.

More progressive schools also are giving group information and advice and are providing opportunity for discussion of matters of personal hygiene, social behavior, and the like. In acquiring information concerning each student, there should be a well-planned testing program to include not only tests of intelligence and school achievement, but also questionnaires which will uncover interests, behavior patterns, and the adequacy of personality adjustments. The records concerning pupils should be on cumulative record cards, so that one may get a developmental picture of each individual. Many schools attempt to inform students about existing conditions and available opportunities through exploratory courses or courses in occupational information and print information of value in acquainting students with the offerings of the school and with occupational opportunities in the local community. This guidance service should include opportunity for personal interviews with each student. These interviews should not be perfunctory but should attempt to discover and deal with each pupil's problems individually.

This guidance service is often administered by the home-room teacher or by some administrative officer such as the dean of girls. However, experience has shown that to perform the task of counselor adequately requires more specialized training than the average classroom teacher has received, and it is recommended that the guidance counselor be specially trained for the position.*

Schools as a whole have not recognized their responsibility for demonstrating to pupils the values inherent in education and in worth-while activities. Pupils as a rule tend to take subjects and go through the daily routine of school without understanding its significance or having in mind a definite plan. Likewise schools fail to point out the romance and adventure that lie about them in the most routine and commonplace occupations. Too often adventure means to a boy travel in distant countries, or going up in an airplane, or having exciting and dramatic experiences. The school should point out the interest and zest which may be found in the commonplace activities that most people find to be their daily bill of fare. This duty of the school of challenging pupils and showing them the values inherent in what the school offers may very well be a part of the guidance program. Discussion groups, short courses, and assembly talks may be employed as means for showing the values in contemporary living.

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* On this point not all are agreed. Many practical school men insist that teachers can be taken from the ranks and given responsible posts in counseling. See Allen, R. D. — " Guidance and Counseling," Chap. IV, 221, in " Pupil Personnel, Guidance and Counseling," *Review of Educational Research*, Vol. 3, No. 3, June, 1933.

PROBLEMS AND EXERCISES FOR DISCUSSION

1. What wrong influences for mental hygiene have you observed in the curriculum in your school?

2. What phases of the curriculum in your school seem to have the best mental-hygiene possibilities?

3. How are curriculum guidance and mental hygiene related?

4. Summarize the arguments for and against grouping pupils in school according to ability.

5. What adjustment to individual differences in ability can the teacher make in the classroom?

6. Do pupils adopt poor mental attitudes because of the inherent nature of the groups they are in or because of the interpretations and evaluations that teachers and parents place on these groups?

7. Summarize the arguments for and against individual instruction.

8. Discuss the motivating effects of awards and prizes.

9. What are the values of school examinations?

10. It is admitted that school examinations cause much strain and worry to pupils. Should they be abolished for this reason?

11. How can examinations be administered with better attention to mental hygiene?

12. What values has the home-room period for mental hygiene?

13. What values has the school assembly for mental hygiene?

14. Should schools have an all-year schedule?

15. What attitude should a teacher take toward restrictions and regulations that hamper her work but over which she has no control?

16. What are some of the more important choices that adolescents must learn to make in their school work?

17. What information about oneself is desirable for everyone to have for vocational guidance?

18. How can schools stimulate pupils to appreciation of the romance and challenges in contemporary life? In the professions? In politics? In social service?

19. What value does literature have in guidance?

20. How can the extracurricular program in school serve a guidance function?

CHAPTER XIV

SPECIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICE FOR PROBLEM CHILDREN

Even with an ideal school organization and with teachers alert to the mental-hygiene implications of their methods of instruction, there will be some problem children in schools. This is true in part because the school does not have control of its children twenty-four hours a day. Parents possess all degrees of competence and incompetence in rearing children, and many a child suffers from the handicap of inadequate home conditions and unsympathetic parental control. Again, even careful teachers are unable to prevent unfortunate attitudes and behavior patterns from arising within the social matrix of the classroom situation. On the other hand, certain pupils will be temperamentally and constitutionally prone to make adjustments that are neurotic. Every school possesses children who show incipient abnormal or delinquent tendencies. The large number of insane or criminals of the adult population have passed through the public schools and probably at an early age exhibited incipient symptoms which could be identified as the beginnings of their later serious defects.

All this means that, if the school is to deal adequately with the mental-hygiene program, it must be equipped and staffed to make intensive studies of problem children with a view toward discovering the causes of their abnormal condition and proposing adequate remedial treatment. At the present time such facilities in schools are decidedly rudimentary and there is no satisfactory pattern or standard for such a service. Perhaps the best work is now being done in child-guidance clinics, usually established outside the school by mental-hygiene societies, hospitals, and social-service organizations which give their services to school children wherever possible. These child-guidance clinics, organized under the enterprise of the National Committee on Mental Hygiene, have done an excellent pioneer service and have demonstrated the value of this sort of work wherever tried.

Within school systems much of the work now being done is assigned to research bureaus. Historically, psychological work in school has been established as a research project in connection with the administration of mental and achievement tests. This service, while excellent so far as it goes, is often one-sided, and those who have been in charge of it have frequently held a somewhat limited point of view and specialized too narrowly in tests and their interpretation. More recently psychiatric service and school counselors have become part of the school program.*

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* See Hollingworth, L. S. — " Psychological Service for Public Schools," *Teachers College Record*, 34 : 368–379, February, 1933.

The time is ripe, however, for schools to feel their responsibility for establishing a psychological service for the study of problem children. Experience has shown that teachers have neither the training nor the time for carrying on such work. In the first place, to make an adequate study of a problem child and to inquire into the conditions underlying his modes of behavior require techniques and an understanding which have not been included in the training or experience of the ordinary teacher. Moreover, teachers do not have the time or energy to undertake this time-consuming work, which involves testing, interviewing, and visiting homes, as an extra burden to be added to the teaching duties. For these reasons the study of problem children must be instituted as a special feature of the school's program and cannot be undertaken as an additional task by the present school personnel.

For convenience, the study of problem children may be broken up into three main phases: (1) administration and interpretation of tests — mental and physical; (2) interviews with the pupil himself; and (3) visits to the home and interviews with the parents.

With reference to the typical practice in the administration of mental tests to a child, there is evidence to support the belief that group tests are fully as satisfactory as individual tests and have the added advan-

Anderson, F. N., and others — "Six Years of Child Guidance," *Journal of Juvenile Research*, 15 : 73–76, 1931.

Smith, S. K. — "Child Guidance Clinics," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 94 : 710–714, 1930.

tage of permitting the worker to test a whole class with little additional outlay of time or energy. Furthermore, there is every reason for desiring to have an impartial survey made of an entire class or school in order to discover those pupils who show incipient problem tendencies early enough so that some help may be given. Such testing should include (*a*) intelligence tests to determine the general intellectual level of the pupil; (*b*) special prognostic studies to discover special aptitudes and abilities; (*c*) interest questionnaires to discover pupils' interests, especially along several fundamental lines, so that the pupil may be advised with regard to his choices in his courses in school, his vocation, or his activities outside of school; (*d*) adjustment questionnaires to determine the pupil's own statement concerning his satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the various phases of his life; (*e*) behavior records and ratings to be made either by teachers or by classmates for the purpose of discovering pupils exhibiting behavior characteristics symptomatic of maladjustment. The autobiography, which may be written in the English class, has also been found to be revealing. With the information on a cumulative permanent record card, considerable data are at hand for understanding each pupil even before an emergency arises; and a much fairer estimate of personality and behavior is available for understanding a pupil who may be referred as a problem.

The second phase of this work is the interview with the pupil himself covering his reactions toward school, the conditions of his daily life, his ambitions and plans, his tastes and interests, the activities in which he engages, his companions, his attitudes toward members of his family, and similar topics contributing toward a better understanding of the factors which influence him. The testing and interviewing should be undertaken by a psychologist or a psychological counselor.

The third phase of the work — visiting the homes — requires a different training and should be entrusted to a special visiting teacher whose sole duty is to make contacts with the home. The visiting teacher should visit homes of pupils referred as problems with a view toward understanding the home influences surrounding each child, and she should attempt to influence the parents to make whatever adjustments are possible. As a rule, parents are more open to suggestion when their children are young than later in life. When the child has reached adolescence, behavior patterns of the parents have already become fixed and the work of parental education becomes difficult. Parental education, which may be undertaken by means of group interviews, conferences, lectures, bulletins, or even special classes or courses, should also be one of the duties of the visiting teacher.

The psychological counselor requires training which is fundamentally different from the traditional psychological training. Psychology today as it is taught in educational institutions is excellent as a background science, but it hardly supplies the training or the professional point of view which is required in the training of a counselor. Courses in tests and measurements as found in schools of education are also of value but should not constitute the sole point of view of school psychologists.

Courses are also needed which give the student an understanding of mental life in its broad dynamic aspects, prepare him for the clinical study of problems, and show him how to adapt educational procedures to mental health. At the present time the relative importance of a psychiatrist and psychologist in this work is a controversial matter. Psychiatrists claim that the study of individuals in distress is typically the province of the medically trained men, and that medically trained psychiatrists are peculiarly fitted to understand the handling of problem cases in school. On the other hand, it is maintained that most school maladjustments are educational in the larger sense, being a form of learning, and that the person best fitted to understand the problem child is one who best understands education and the learning process. For this reason it is recommended that school counselors be trained in schools of education, for they should be primarily educators and should understand thoroughly the work and point of view of the school. However, this training needs to be considerably broader than that commonly received by psychologists and should not only include fundamental courses in psychology and mental testing, but also develop some understanding of the contributions to the adjustment of the individual by medicine, psychiatry, psychoanalysis, vocational guidance, and parental education. It is most important that in his training the counselor should develop skill in recognizing and understanding the common mental mechanisms that are found in children and should appreciate the significance of the background factors in causing their development, as well as the more fundamental sciences relating to child health and development. The training of the psychological counselor should include at least two years of graduate study.

It should be recognized that not all behavior problems are primarily learning problems, and that occasionally there is a physical or organic impairment which is the root of the difficulty. The psychological counselor should at all times be ready to call in the medically trained psychiatrist for consultation in cases where psychological training does not supply the necessary understanding of the case.

PROBLEMS AND EXERCISES FOR DISCUSSION

1. What are some of the difficulties the average teacher meets in attempting to gain a complete understanding of a problem child?

2. In what order should the following steps be taken in making a case study: (1) visit home, (2) administer an intelligence test, (3) examine school record, (4) talk to pupil's teachers, (5) interview pupil, (6) interview father, (7) interview pupil's friends, (8) consult all who have

gathered data, (9) interview mother, (10) make a health examination?

3. Is it better to interview parents at home or in school?

4. What kind of training is desirable for a school psychologist?

5. How would you distinguish between the work of the psychologist and the psychiatrist?

CHAPTER XV

THE MENTAL-HYGIENE TESTING PROGRAM

It is possible at present for a teacher to obtain accurate information concerning any pupil's intelligence, interests, behavior, adjustment, and health.

We need not stop long in consideration of intelligence tests. They have come, have gone through a baptism of fire, and have emerged somewhat humbled yet having proved their worth. Even though intelligence tests admittedly do not measure intelligence accurately for all people and in all situations, nevertheless they have a certain known predictive value with regard to school work. The first thing I want to know about a high-school pupil is what he can do on an intelligence test, for I feel that such a test tells me more in a shorter space of time about what a pupil *can* do in school than I can learn in any other way. Intelligence tests also have a rough predictive value of the extent to which a pupil can profit by academic education.

A somewhat new departure is the determination of a pupil's interests.* Knowledge concerning a pupil's interests is even more significant for a pupil's choices than is knowledge of his abilities. A person can turn his hand to any one of a number of tasks equally successfully so far as his ability goes, but the satisfaction and happiness that he derives from his work depends in part on this intangible thing we call interest.

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* A general discussion of the methods of measuring interests, attitudes, and adjustment may be found in Symonds, P. M. — *Diagnosing Personality and Conduct;* D. Appleton-Century Company, 1931.

An expression of interest can be obtained and analyzed by the simple expedient of asking a boy or girl directly whether or not he likes various activities, occupations, and kinds of people. More exactly one can obtain an expression of interest by asking for the relative preference for various activities. For instance, the pupil may be asked to choose from a list of occupations or activities those that he would place first, second, or third. Or activities may be placed in pairs and one member of each pair selected. These indications of interest can be made still more exact if a particular field is canvassed somewhat systematically by means of a number of items arranged in the form of a checking list or questionnaire. Such interest inventories have been made by Brainard, Miner, Sonquist, and Watson.*

A slightly more elaborate attack on the problem has been made by Strong.† This investigator has used the interest questionnaire to help differentiate between successful men in various professions. By scoring his questionnaire with twenty-seven different keys (July, 1933), a boy's relative-preference tendency toward twenty-seven occupations or professions can be determined, and the results may be of considerable significance when guiding a boy in his choice of occupation. Garretson* used a similar technique for determining which of three curricula — the academic, commercial, and technical — a boy is best adapted for by preference, and this questionnaire should be of considerable value in curriculum guidance in the high school.

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* Brainard, Paul P. — *Specific Interest Inventory;* Psychological Corporation.

Miner, James B. — *Analysis of Work Interest Blank;* C. H. Stoelting and Company.

Sonquist, David E. — *Interest Finder;* Association Press.

Watson, Goodwin B. — *Interest Analysis;* Association Press.

† Strong, E. K., Jr. — *Change of Interests with Age;* Stanford University Press, 1931.

A pupil's behavior is also of importance in understanding him better. Most behavior has significance in relation to underlying personality trends. Some behavior, to be sure, is little more than the result of habit patterns elaborated in the family. But various behavior tendencies toward withdrawal or attention getting indicate personality maladjustments of more or less seriousness. The loud-mouthed, boisterous boy who creates disturbances in the corridor or who continually speaks out in class may be compensating for some deficiency or lack of attention, recognition, or affection in other directions. Likewise the quiet, shy, moody boy or girl may have solved his unsatis-

Strong, E. K., Jr. — "Vocational Interests Test," *The Educational Record*, 8 : 107–121, April, 1927.

* Garretson, O. K. — *Relationships between Expressed Preferences and Curricular Abilities of Ninth Grade Boys,* Contributions to Education, No. 396; Teachers College, Columbia University, 1930.

Symonds, P. M. — *Tests and Interest Questionnaires in the Guidance of High School Boys;* Teachers College, Columbia University, 1930.

factory social relations by withdrawing into an inner world of fancy.

Behavior can be diagnosed by direct observation, and this observation can be suitably recorded and evaluated by various rating devices. Observations of pupil behavior are commonly made by the teacher, and many schools include on the report card space for estimates of character qualities. Although this estimate is made partly as a check on the learning or development of these qualities, it has its most important function in guidance. This rating, if it is to be made at all, should be made much more systematically and carefully than is usually the case. It is the writer's belief that ratings of behavior should be made only once a year (perhaps a couple of months after the beginning of school) rather than every time the report cards go out. Ratings obtained annually should be concerned with the more stable manifestations of personality rather than with the superficial shiftings of classroom attitude and mood. These ratings should concern readily observable behavior characteristics rather than obscure traits or qualities. Such ratings are usually made by the teacher, but good results have been obtained by having pupils rate one another. This practice adds greatly to the reliability of the ratings and often supplements the point of view held by the teacher. It has also been found that, instead of by rating each pupil, the ends desired are reached more easily and accurately by rating only those pupils outstanding in any respect with regard to behavior.

Better understanding of behavior is essential if guidance is to be carried out in any comprehensive way.

The writer has developed an Identification Sheet using the guess-who technique, devised by Hartshorne and May,* by means of which pupils may identify other pupils in their classes who are outstanding in any particular characteristic. I have used such a sheet effectively in spotting pupils who are markedly introverted or extroverted, and I find that by this device I am able to locate early in the school year pupils who later have high probability of being " problems " to their teachers.

We have erred in the past by confining our attention too closely to school subjects and achievement. Not only is the school responsible in part for enabling the pupil to make satisfactory life adjustments, but we find that success in school itself is in part conditioned by personality adjustments of which outward behavior is one excellent index.

Still another aspect of adjustment may be obtained by asking the pupil directly concerning his reactions to school and home life. Teachers have hesitated in the past to ask pupils how they like school, teachers, studies, and books. Pupils were expected to submit and endure, and an expression from them of how they liked the process was considered superfluous. Besides, it might be dangerous to ask questions that were too intimate, for they might reveal something concerning the school, the curriculum, or even the teacher herself not altogether complimentary. Parents have been known to resent highly having their children asked in school how they like conditions at home.

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* Hartshorne, H., May, M. A., and Maller, J. B. — *Studies in Service and Self-Control;* The Macmillan Company, 1927.

We are so used to asking questions for the answer that it is hard for us to put aside the information which the answer contains as of secondary consequence. However, if pupils were to be asked concerning their reactions to school and home, it would be only secondarily to find out something about the school and home and primarily to learn something about the pupils. A pupil's reaction is highly revealing. Answers indicating perfect contentment reveal one kind of adjustment whereas answers indicating dissatisfaction and resentment, more or less acute, reveal an adjustment of quite a different sort.

The writer has assembled a group of questions calculated to aid in revealing phases of a pupil's adjustment in school and at home.* Such questions are:

Do you dislike any of the subjects you are now studying in school?

Are all your teachers thoughtful and considerate?

Do other pupils ever ridicule you when you recite in class or when you play games?

Do you ever feel that you would like to run away from home?

Do you ever feel that you would like to be free to be just what you please?

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* See Symonds, P. M., and Jackson, C. E. — "An Adjustment Survey," *Journal of Educational Research*, 21 : 321–330, May, 1930.

These questions are scored as any test is scored according to whether they are in the direction toward or away from good adjustment, and the results are totaled as one totals the score on a test. High scores indicate good adjustment.

It has been found that this questionnaire helps locate pupils who are badly adjusted in the school and whom the school is failing to serve because of some focus of irritation in the pupil's life, either at school or at home.

A few years ago some graduate students at Teachers College, Columbia University, used a portion of this questionnaire in a neighboring school to study pupil adjustment toward the curriculum. This survey indicated among other things certain weak spots in the curriculum of the school and indicated also certain teachers who were failing to arouse interest and enthusiasm in their teaching. But this survey also revealed a dozen or so pupils who were badly misplaced in their courses. Some were taking academic college-preparatory courses to satisfy their parents' whims when they had neither the ability nor inclination to profit by such work. Others were taking the commercial curriculum who were bored by bookkeeping, stenography, and office practice and who longed to work with tools and machines. Certainly we should give more attention to understanding the personalities of our boys and girls before we cause them to make decisions that influence their whole lives.

A simple method of surveying the adjustments of high-school pupils is now available* using the technique employed by Thurstone in the measurement of attitudes. Statements have been collected from pupils in high school in answer to the question, " What kind of year are you having? " Following are sample statements:

" This year I've had a wonderful time at home and at school."

" Life is too dead. Sometimes I feel like running away."

" *Fair* is all I can say about my life."

These statements have been carefully scaled so that they may be arranged in order from those which indicate profound unhappiness to those which indicate a high degree of happiness. The scale consists of a selected number of these statements printed in a list in random order. To obtain a measure of adjustment, pupils are asked to read down the list checking those which they can truthfully say apply to themselves. By averaging the scale values of those items checked by any pupil, an accurate measure of the adjustment of that pupil can be obtained.

Such measures as have been described can be used in surveying the adjustment of a school, of a class, of the pupils under a given teacher, and the like. They may also be used to identify pupils who admit being dissatisfied with life as they find it in school and out.

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* Published by the author under the title " What Kind of Year Are You Having? " Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932.

Naturally one must rely on a pupil's giving a correct account of himself. If properly administered in all seriousness and with the confidence of the group, good results may usually be obtained.

Finally, one should not neglect the health or physical examination in this survey of personality. The findings yielded by an analysis of physical condition help to fill out the picture of personality. Frequently one can understand personality only by reference to certain physical characteristics — strengths and defects. Here is a pupil who does not mingle with others and takes no part in sports and games. A physical examination reveals a hernia which influences the whole personality. Here is a pupil who is nervous and temperamental in the classroom. Examination reveals chronic fatigue, due to late hours and inadequate rest and sleep. No diagnosis of personality is complete without the health examination made by a competent physician.

Tests for guidance are best left to the guidance counselor or to the person who is responsible for the guidance program. In the first place, the administration of these tests often requires specialized skill which only a trained person possesses. For instance, some tests require careful timing while others are difficult to score. Many of the tests and questionnaires may be most economically given to large groups gathered in the assembly hall or lunch room; others must be given to one pupil at a time. In the second place, many of these questionnaires call for confidential information which should be in the possession of only the individual who is trained to make correct interpretations of it. If guidance is the function of every teacher, then every teacher should be intrusted with this information. On the other hand, many are beginning to realize that guidance is not something which anyone can " pick up " but that it requires specialized training. In the third place, tests used for guidance should be interpreted in relation to one another. Some one should see the child as a whole rather than as a learner of subject matter. For these reasons, it seems desirable that the administration of tests for guidance be intrusted to the specialist in guidance.

Finally, any comprehensively conceived testing program carries with it the need for a system of permanent, cumulative records. Much of the value of testing is lost because the significance of the results is never seen as a whole. In the first place, the test results for a pupil gathered in any one year by teachers, counselors, and physicians need to be brought together so that a picture of the whole child is presented. In the second place, these records need to be cumulated yearly in order to show development. We lose in trying to interpret a boy or a girl by a mere cross section; a longitudinal record of development is needed as well.

The implication in all of the foregoing has been that questionnaires and rating devices may be used for diagnosing maladjusted pupils, those having difficulties with school work, or those presenting behavior peculiarities. As a matter of fact, the greatest service that an all-round study of individuals offers is in spotting the pupils with the greatest potentialities for leadership. The isolation of potential leaders among school children is perhaps the most important service that the scientific method has at present to offer to education. These potential leaders should be discovered and every effort made to develop to the full and in worth-while directions the potential leadership they already display.

Naturally one should know the qualities that go to make up a leader before he can be picked out of the crowd by testing devices. A few years ago it was considered sufficient to employ intelligence tests in the choice of leaders. To be sure, intelligence is a quality highly desirable in a leader. Leaders as selected by their fellows are not always and necessarily high in intelligence; often other social qualities make a man attractive and win him votes. No one can be a highly successful leader of others without possessing high ability. But intelligence is not all that is necessary. Many possess ability but lack other qualities required in leaders. Many fail to become successful teachers who possess the highest intelligence because they lack other qualifications of leadership.

The writer discovered that the very measures of adjustment which have already been enumerated, when considered from their positive side, were of considerable value in picking out those who were leaders in the school. In a tenth-grade class of 243 pupils there were seventeen who had held positions of leadership, *i.e.*, who had been on the service league or who had been elected class officer. The average number of identifications on the Identification Sheet for this group was positive 13.2 whereas the average number of identifications for the remaining 226 in the class was negative 1.8. This particular rating device has rather accurate power to identify those who have been selected either by the teachers or the students to occupy positions of responsibility.

What is needed is a new type of specialist who is able to recognize and interpret the symptoms and characteristics of the leader in much the same way that the psychiatrist is able to recognize and interpret the symptoms and characteristics of the mentally disordered. From the point of view of social welfare such a positive diagnostician is worth many times more than the psychiatrist. Many persons are now convinced of the service that the psychiatrist can render in applying intelligent understanding to the ills of the community, but no one has realized the social value of the diagnostician who can point out potential leaders among our school children and can recommend and encourage methods for the development of social leaders.

From experience in interviewing and studying clinically school leaders, it is possible to learn to recognize and interpret the characteristics of leadership very much as the psychiatrist learns to recognize the characteristics of the mentally disordered. As an illustration, adolescent leaders were found to be *serious of purpose*. Many had blocked out their complete high-school course and some had well-formulated plans for college and even professional study. Nothing is more apparent in the school leader than high ambition and seriousness of purpose. He knows where he is going and how he is to get there and this goal gives his daily activities a definiteness that distinguishes him from his schoolmates. These and other characteristics sooner or later make themselves felt and are recognized by the students and teachers, but only vaguely and somewhat randomly. But just as the psychiatrist by his experience is able to recognize the symptoms of mental disorder more surely than the teacher can who merely thinks of a pupil as odd or peculiar, so the specialist in diagnosing leadership can do it earlier, more surely, and with greater insight. If leadership is worth fostering, those with potentialities toward leadership are worth discovering early and surely.

This digression on leadership serves as an illustration of some of the values in personality study. In older days schools were established mainly to serve the individual; now the recognition is full upon us that schools have a tremendous responsibility to society. Not only is education looked to for some solution of the problem of crime, but education is also expected to aid in problems of industry and citizenship. And in all of these areas schools are expected to do more than make children absorbers of subject matter from books. In developing methods and techniques for diagnosing personality, education is making more potent its resources for fitting young people for social responsibility.*

PROBLEMS AND EXERCISES FOR DISCUSSION

1. What value has the knowledge of a pupil's I. Q. to a guidance counselor?
2. Should a pupil know his own I. Q.?
3. Should parents be told the I. Q.'s of their children?
4. What value has the knowledge of a pupil's interests to a guidance counselor?
5. Why is a systematic inventory of a pupil's interests better than merely asking him what he is interested in?
6. Is there danger in asking a pupil how well he is satisfied with his school, his teacher, or his home? Is there any value to asking him these questions?
7. What are the causes for error in judging another person?
8. Should pupils be asked to rate one another? Why?
9. Are there any values to tests and questionnaires that make them sometimes more desirable than the personal interview?
10. What are the reasons for testing children in groups rather than one at a time?

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* Portions of this chapter are reproduced, by permission, from the author's article " The Testing Program for the High School," which appeared in *School Review*, February, 1932.

CHAPTER XVI

INTERVIEWING AND THE CASE STUDY

Interviewing can be divided into three types according to the purpose served.*

The first of these, the *diagnostic interview*, has as its primary function the discovery of facts about an individual — about his life and conditions at home and in school.

The second type of interview, which may be called the *treatment interview*, has as its purpose not to discover facts about the individual but to influence him in some way, so that a change in attitude or behavior may be produced. Ordinarily the diagnostic and the treatment interviews are not separate. Information is obtained and advice given at the same time, so that the two kinds of interviews become indistinguishable. In conducting an interview many persons are altogether too willing to begin giving advice before the first step of understanding the situation is completed. With one or two facts in mind they begin to preach, to offer suggestions, and to advise. It is necessary to emphasize the importance of the fact-getting side of interviewing, which in ordinary practice is the most neglected.

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* See Symonds, P. M. — *Diagnosing Personality and Conduct;* D. Appleton-Century Company, 1931, for a more complete discussion of interviewing.

See also Strang, R. — *Rôle of the Teacher in Personnel Work*, Chap. 13; Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932.

The third type is the *research interview*, in which one is interested not in the individual himself but only in what he can tell about some problem. In the research interview one talks with a number of persons for the purpose of collecting facts about some problem. Charters * made use of the research interview in his study of secretarial training. He interviewed a number of successful secretaries to discover what characteristics they had and what duties they performed. He was interested not in the individuals themselves but in what these individuals could contribute to the study.

The use of the interview for obtaining specific information is in some respects similar to the use of the questionnaire. Both the questionnaire and the interview have their advantages and disadvantages. The questionnaire method enables one to ask questions of a large number of individuals at once and hence is less time consuming. Another advantage of the questionnaire is its greater standardization, so that less suggestion takes place and answers need much less interpretation. Often the interviewer influences the pupil's answer by his tone of voice. If the principal says, " You spend only one half hour in study at night? " the pupil, in trying to win his respect, may reply, " Well, usually I spend more time than that."

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* Charters, W. W., and Whitley, I. B. — *Analysis of Secretarial Duties and Traits;* The Williams and Williams Company, 1924.

The questionnaire, on the other hand, is limited in that it has to follow a given list of questions. After the questionnaire has been answered, one may still not know the facts that he wishes to know. The interview is more flexible than the questionnaire. The skillful interviewer can follow up clues that cannot possibly be followed by the questionnaire method.

We may again divide interviewing into two parts, voluntary and involuntary. In the voluntary interview one goes to his physician or priest of his own free will, and as a result there is usually much less inhibition and repression. In the involuntary interview the person is sent for, as when a boy is called into the principal's office. The two situations are fundamentally different psychologically and must necessarily have a different approach and treatment. In the voluntary interview one may expect greater rapport, freedom of expression, and less reserve and inhibition, but in the involuntary interview special devices are necessary for breaking down resistance and gaining the person's confidence.

The successful counselor must be a person who does not have so many scruples and prejudices that he is able to view the mistakes and weaknesses of pupils only with horror and loathing. To be really successful, he should be more or less shock proof and should receive all sorts of confessions with self-control and calm. Another characteristic of a good counselor is a warm nature. A successful physician has warmth and heartiness and self-assurance that breed confidence and optimism. He does you good if you just go into his office, for his mere presence gives you confidence. When he shakes hands with you, he has a warm, firm clasp and you immediately feel that this is the sort of person whom you can respect and confide in. Teachers who know how to mix with their pupils and are not introverted in any sense are the ones who make the most successful counselors. To be successful as a counselor, one must also have gone through some of the very experiences that the pupils are facing and must have emerged from them triumphantly. A good counselor must have had a rather wide experience, must have made mistakes, must have been blamed for transgressions, and must have come out of these experiences successfully in order to know the difficulty that other people have in the same situations. He should be a frank sort of person who is absolutely square. Pupils must feel that, when the counselor makes a statement, he means exactly what he says, that he is not playing politics or merely bluffing, but that he is genuinely sincere. An interviewer must have a certain amount of dignity, reserve, and courtesy, but he should meet the other person halfway. If a person is in poor circumstances, one must meet the other person on his own level and not remain distant and haughty. Dickens, in *Bleak House*, describes an overbearing charity worker who comes into a brickmason's home and speaks in a loud and arrogant voice. Finally, a sense of humor is absolutely necessary.

When matters become tense, the ability to pass them off with a little humor is a saving grace.

One should make careful preparation for an interview. As much information as possible should be obtained about the person to be interviewed before the interview actually takes place. In particular, if a boy or girl is an actual problem in the school, one should consult the school records and familiarize oneself beforehand with the school attendance, home address, age, occupation of father, correspondence with the home, and so on. In most cases it is a good plan to talk with his teachers and get their statements concerning him, although it may not be wise in every case to do this inasmuch as there may be reasons for seeing the pupil without being biased by the teachers' impressions. Knowing a pupil's outstanding accomplishments before the interview is of assistance. One may obtain a knowledge of a pupil's characteristics by the device of having a list of names of members of a home room mimeographed on a sheet with double typewriter spaces between the names. This list is given to each member of the home room, who is requested to write down against each name outstanding achievements or accomplishments or characteristics of that person, not only in school but out of school as well. This may be facilitated by a sample list that contains a wide variety of comments, such as " Has good stamp collection," " Can play ukulele," " Dresses well," and " Is friendly," including those that will impress pupils with the fact that we are not thinking only of doing well in school studies but are interested also in having them write against each pupil's name what they know about him that is commendable. In this way one can obtain a knowledge of a pupil's outstanding accomplishments that will help in meeting him for the first time and perhaps give a better preliminary understanding of him.

One ought always in an interview to be careful of the time and place. It is not desirable to limit the time that is given to an interview. Do not schedule twelve interviews for an hour so that they have to be run through in five minutes each. Do not interview in an office where there is a whole line waiting, so that everyone knows that there are others following him. Have an interview in a private office with no one else present except the pupil. Give at least a feeling that there is an indefinite amount of time for the interview. It is very important to remove the impression of being hurried. One may have only ten minutes but should create the impression that the interview will last as long as there is need for it.

There is some question as to the relative value of holding an interview in one's office or going directly into the home. By visiting the home one can obtain an impression of the home background and surroundings and an understanding of the forces acting on the pupil. On the other hand, the home is not apt to have the privacy that is needed. The mother may be interrupted by children or may have to attend to something that is cooking on the stove, so that one has interruptions which break into a concentrated consideration of the problem. The office is private but is an artificial, strange environment for most people. In some cases it may put people at ease and in others make them uneasy.

We have spoken of the interview as though it were always a formal procedure. Often one can do this interviewing in an informal way, such as in the corridor in school or when walking down the street. On such informal occasions the pupil may not even know that the counselor is using them as chances to chat with him on some problem, and issues can be brought up quite casually. Of course in these informal contacts one does not have records and " setting," but there is no reason why such a series of informal occasions may not be the best of all settings to carry on this individual counseling between the teacher and the pupil.

The procedure of interviewing is much like the structure of a story or novel or drama and has been analyzed into the same steps that are found in any story that has a plot. There is the introduction, rising action, climax, and conclusion. In any interview it may be hard to identify such steps as in a story or drama and they may coalesce or be telescoped together, but for purposes of analysis one can isolate these four steps.

An introduction is needed primarily in order to get the interview started properly. If one has a pupil to interview in his office, the first thing to do is to put him at ease. This cannot be done if the interviewer sits in his chair with the pupil standing awkwardly on the other side of the desk. One must avoid putting the pupil on the defensive. The surroundings during an interview may have much to do with helping a person relax. The room should be a comfortable place, pervaded by a friendly atmosphere, where the person being interviewed feels more or less at ease. Provide a comfortable chair and let the pupil gasp with surprise as he settles down in it.

If the interview is voluntary, there is no necessity for stating its purpose, but if it is involuntary one should immediately state its purpose in an open and frank way. Giving the pupil a good handshake when he comes in, making a remark about the weather or impending school game or asking him about his family or what his brother is doing who graduated from school last year, all are ways of drawing off the tension which the pupil usually feels in approaching an interview and of establishing a friendly relationship based on common interest. This helps to remove the initial resistance that occurs in the involuntary interview.

In the interview itself there are two problems concerning which there are differences of opinion. The first is whether one ought to allow the individual free rein to say whatever he wishes or whether he should be asked a fixed schedule of questions. Usually the situation which is the cause of the investigation has developed a good deal of tension. The experienced interviewer usually finds it better to let the individual first express his anger, worries, resentment, or fears — in other words, to blow off steam if he has any to blow off. Then when the initial tension is over, one can begin to ask questions to bring out details that are necessary to complete understanding. With the original tension removed so that the individual has released himself for a calmer and more rational approach to his problems, one will get better answers to the questions asked.

The second difference of opinion concerns the issue as to whether the immediate problem should be considered first or whether one ought first to learn some of the background leading up to the issue. There is no uniformity of opinion on this point. Some believe that the best results are obtained by going immediately to the issue at stake and airing that rather well at the start and then going back to some of the conditions that underlie the issue. Others believe that one makes a better start by obtaining some of the background of the individual and then leading up rather tactfully to the particular conflict that is the occasion for the interview itself. Probably each method is desirable on certain occasions, depending on the nature of the problem and the individual's own emotional attitude toward it.

Eventually the time comes to close the interview. Sometimes the climax has been reached, so that one believes the key to the situation is in hand and is sure that the vital point has been touched. On other occasions, although one may have used every device for trying to get the subject to reveal himself and to state what the conditions are, the matter remains somewhat of a mystery.

Some psychiatrists believe that one is seldom able to cope successfully with a problem in the first interview. They believe that there is something about the initial contact that prevents the subject from fully revealing himself, and that the pupil has to get away and think the thing over in order to come back and be able to tell his complete story. One should not feel discouraged if an interview comes to a close without a solution having been revealed, for in the majority of cases this is true of the first interview. One should arrange to meet the pupil again with the hope that time will have broken down some of the initial defenses and resistances.

In any case it is wise to hold conclusions as tentative during the process of the interview. Many counselors in trying to understand pupil problems tend to jump to conclusions. One may have read a book which emphasized bad vision or defective hearing, so that he is oversensitive to these weaknesses and without sufficient cause may decide that the pupil's trouble lies in one of these directions. No matter how sure one may be that the trouble lies in this or that field, it is generally wise to be cautious and to postpone coming to a decision until an exhaustive inquiry has been made into the pupil's life and conditions of living.

In closing an interview it is desirable to make it easy for the pupil to come back and bring his problem up again at some future time. By saying something like, " I am glad that we have had this chance to talk things over," or, " Come in and see me again sometime," the way is made easy for the interview to be taken up again later.

In nearly every interview there is an expectation of treatment in the way of advice or suggestion as a result of the information furnished and the diagnosis made by the interviewer. If you go to a physician's office, you expect medicine or advice before you come out. The physician must reach some decision quickly so as to be able to prescribe some change in diet or the like. In the practical work of interviewing in school, the counselor must also make some decisions before the case is thoroughly diagnosed in order to give at least temporary relief to the problem. To give premature advice is not always altogether wise, and sound advice can be based only on careful investigation. Some persons feel that one has to be decisive in dealing with pupils in order to retain their respect. We are often afraid that, if we do not seem to be positive or to have some recommendation to make, the child is going to feel that the adviser is uncertain of himself. This is a fear that is largely groundless. Immediate action is not necessarily the best procedure in all cases. It may be advisable at times to postpone decision or recommendations until a day or a week later to give the pupil time to make possible readjustments himself. One should not feel that the problem must be finished up in a short interview, for as a matter of fact most individual readjustments take considerable time and perhaps several personal conferences with the pupil may be necessary.

An interview in which the pupil does most of the talking requires more time than is usually allowed for such interviews. The counselor generally knows what he wants to say and no time is wasted in saying it. To let the pupil work out his own ideas, however, is more effective. This method helps the pupil but does not fit a fixed schedule in the office.

Let it be emphasized that the relationship between the teacher and pupil should not be that of accuser and accused or of administrator (or teacher) and pupil. There is some doubt whether a teacher or dean or principal is really the proper person to conduct such an interview because this relationship makes the pupil adopt a defensive attitude. Certainly this authoritative-submissive relationship is not desirable and probably it is not necessary. But since it is the relationship usually found, there is good reason for having some one in the school whom we might call a counselor or psychologist or guidance director and whose function is that of friend and adviser. The pupil should feel from the outset that the counselor is his friend, is "on his side," and understands his point of view perhaps in opposition to that of teacher, principal, and parents, and that he is there to work with him and help him straighten out his troubles.

PROBLEMS AND EXERCISES
FOR DISCUSSION

1. What advantage is there in obtaining information about a pupil by the interview as contrasted with the use of the questionnaire?

2. What personal limitations would unfit some persons for the work of interviewing or counseling?

3. Why, in guiding a pupil, is it more important to know about his accomplishments than his failures?

4. Is there any reason why principals and teachers by virtue of their position can never be wholly successful counselors?

5. What are some of the facts that a boy or girl ordinarily will not reveal in an interview?

6. What are some of the facts that parents will not willingly reveal in an interview?

7. Why is it better to emphasize present difficulties than past origins of conflicts in attempting to diagnose a pupil's difficulties?

CHAPTER XVII

REMEDIAL WORK WITH PROBLEM CHILDREN

There is a fascinating hypothesis that a habit once made is never entirely effaced and that our impressions are never wholly lost. To be sure, we know that there is such a thing as forgetting, so that habits long in disuse apparently have completely died away. But experiments have shown that, even where the learning apparently has been extinguished, relearning of these old habits comes more quickly than the learning of some new response, so that it is believed that old habits leave a trace in the nervous system even though they may still be below the response level. This means that, when we have an experience, our personality is irremediably altered. We can never be the same individual that we were before we had the experience. Remedial work therefore cannot be interpreted as breaking down old habits, as this is not possible. The only means of effacing a habit is to let it lapse through lack of exercise. Remedial work therefore must be thought of as the establishing of new habits and attitudes which will serve as bulwarks or defenses against old patterns of behavior, so that when the situation presents itself the newly learned behavior will overrule the older and less desirable behavior. One must think of remedial work as setting up behavior that will have the upper hand over older behavior.

As was noted in Chapter XII, one will not be successful in planning remedial measures on the basis of symptoms. Unless one is able to get back of the causes of behavior so that these can be altered or the pupil taken away from their influence, the behavior will persist. For instance, if a boy's behavior is caused by overdependence on a mother, no amount of manipulation of the school environment, such as placing him under the influence of new teachers and new companions, encouraging him to take part in club activities, and the like, will ever be of avail so long as the mother's daily influence and power remain. One must learn to recognize the inevitable in remedial work. If an individual suffering from tubercular tendencies is found living in damp basement rooms, we do not say that he could be cured by proper attention to rest and diet so long as he continues to live in an unhealthful environment. We recognize that complete cure cannot be achieved until the patient is moved away to a higher and drier atmosphere. In like manner, we must not hope for miraculous results to follow from the application of remedial measures in school if there are still factors in the environment which continue to inflame or incite. Any remedial program aimed at the correction of behavior must take into account the causal factors of that behavior if it is to be successful.

Two distinct methods have been proposed for remedial work with problem children. One is through change of the environment, the other through reorganization of the mental life of the child himself. Of these two proposed methods the first is fundamental because basically all of our behavior is a response of one sort or another to stimulus from the environment. Some pupils may need a change in their school environment. Perhaps they are not taking courses best suited to them or they are with teachers who are unsympathetic and lacking in understanding. It may be that they are sectioned wrongly as to ability and would profit by being advanced or demoted so that they might undertake tasks more in harmony with their abilities. Often additional social contacts either in the school or in life outside the school, such as the Boy or Girl Scouts, will introduce new factors which may correct the tendencies leading to unbalance. Frequently the home itself has been responsible for the pupil's misbehavior. Since the home is a normal place for a growing boy or girl, one seldom would advise removing a child from his home; but under exceptional circumstances it may be that a better home can be found elsewhere. Since the parents are part of a child's environment, a change in attitude on the part of the parents will often be the one factor which is the key to the situation. In some homes stricter supervision will be advisable whereas in other homes perhaps a little more freedom granted to the child may help him to grow in responsibility and provide the necessary corrective.

In the other method, one attempts to effect a reorganization and control within the individual himself. Various methods have been proposed including suggestion, persuasion, psychoanalysis, and inspiration. On the lowest level would be the everyday methods of personal appeal and suggestion. A teacher may suggest to a boy that he stop certain practices, or that he drop certain companions who have harmful influences. In fact, this method of personal suggestion or persuasion is the one that is most commonly tried even though the results are often uncertain and not predictable. In certain cases where a boy is himself more or less perplexed he may welcome advice when given and attempt to follow it. In other cases a pupil will resent having a teacher or friend interfere in his affairs and will reject any advice or suggestion that may come to him. Often advice and suggestions fail to reckon with the forces that play in the individual or to recognize the difficulties under which the pupil is laboring. Consequently they may be useless. Again, a pupil may accept the suggestions offered to him but may be in a situation that prevents him from being able to put them into practice. It is one thing to have certain resolutions but another to put them into effect.

Among the variations in the attempt to effect a reorganization within the individual is that of getting the individual to realize the psychological mechanisms which are at work in determining his behavior patterns. For instance, a boy who is aggressive and a bully might be brought to realize the fact that he is trying by these methods to disprove to himself and others his own sense of inferiority; or the boy who smokes may be brought to realize that he is doing so as an escape from some difficult situation; or the boy who wisecracks in class may be brought to realize that he is merely using a cheap device to gain the attention which he is otherwise denied; or the child who continually suffers from minor illnesses may be brought to realize that he is using a dodge to escape responsibility, a trick that was learned in infancy.

If the adviser has the skill and patience, he may wish to use more subtle methods of psychoanalysis, which aims through free association to get the pupil to reveal his own repressions and hidden complexes and so to enable him to adopt a new attitude toward his problems which will be more in harmony with the reality of the situation. But there is a danger, in these attempts at helping a pupil to reorganize his mental patterns, that he will develop a morbid introspection, an interest in his own difficulties and problems which is not altogether healthy. The normal healthy individual is usually so intent on reaching his goals, winning the game, and being successful in his endeavors that he has little time to think of his own place in the system of human relationships. To make a person aware of his own lack of adjustment frequently renders him unable to make really satisfactory adjustments. Consequently the best method for reorganizing the conduct of children is that of a fundamental change in environment rather than an attempt to remake their mental life in the hope that thereby they will acquire the desired control over their own behavior.

There is one wholesome thing, however, that schools can do in changing attitudes and appreciations. Most schools fail to use the opportunities that are available for stimulating pupils to worth-while projects, activities, and endeavors. Pupils are not told why subjects are valuable nor do teachers outline for pupils the proposed plan for the year's work. Schools do not do enough toward showing the romance, the adventure, the mystery in life and its activities. Almost every occupation could be made to hold a glamour and a challenge to the ordinary youth if properly presented. I once knew a boy, for instance, who had two uncles who were successful surgeons. His family wanted him to follow in their footsteps, and they would have been glad to make it possible for him to take up this profession. But he was not interested in this profession, partly because the romance of surgery had never been pointed out to him. After all, there are few unexplored places on the globe at the present time. Men have been to both poles, have visited the highest mountains, and have gone down into the sea. However, the inside of the human body is still a region that is more or less of a mystery and offers a challenge to anyone who is of an inquiring mind. Not only that, but the opportunity to restore broken and sick human bodies is a challenge to anyone who is sensitive to altruistic appeals. Every school should do more than it is doing toward showing the worth, the meaning, and the significance of even the humblest and most commonplace events and activities of life.

When one pupil is found maladjusted through some fault in the school organization, there is often indicated a need for a thoroughgoing environmental change that will involve many other pupils besides. If one pupil in a school is discovered to be following the wrong curriculum, it is probably true that other pupils are also wrongly classified and the need is indicated for a well-organized guidance program. When one pupil is found with defective teeth, it is probable that many other pupils also have decayed teeth and the need is indicated for systematic and thorough dental inspection. Whatever the needs of any one maladjusted or problem pupil, it is probable that a thorough reorganization of some kind is required in the school or the homes in the interest of many pupils.

Finally, since remedial work with problem children means reëducation and formation of new and competing habits, this work must necessarily be slow. Habits are never formed in a twinkling; on the contrary, habit formation takes days, weeks, even months, and consequently anyone who is responsible for handling problem children must have a large share of patience. It is true that occasionally readjustment is effected by a shaking up of one's attitudes so that an entirely new light is shed on values and the pupil comes forth from the experience a new and converted being. However, even the sudden act of conversion does not bring with it immediate change in old and established habits; and although the changed attitude is often on the side of the new habit patterns, the latter must be built up by practice and satisfaction as any other set of habits. Results in remedial work with children therefore will show only after a period of time. One must have the long view in meeting a troublesome situation. One should compare, for instance, a class of children as they are in September, restless and full of vigor after their summer's life out of doors and with interests yet to be formed and habit controls often unsatisfactory, not with the same children a week later, but with those children as they are in June after a school year has passed. If one is proud and fond of them, he is willing to overlook the many annoying situations that developed during the year, for these were only part of the adaptive process. The teacher can only provide effective conditions for growth and learning, letting the results develop naturally. Improvement often comes slowly and can be noted only over rather long periods of time; but the satisfactions that come from sympathetic and persistent work with children are among the most rewarding that life has to offer.

SYNOPSIS OF REMEDIAL PROCEDURES TO BE USED IN CORRECTING PROBLEM BEHAVIOR TENDENCIES IN CHILDREN

Further study of case. It may seem somewhat discouraging to have listed as the first step in remedial procedures the application of further tests; but often after the school has completed its own examination as thoroughly as possible, there are still certain questions remaining which can be answered only by examinations given by specialists. Consequently in many cases it would be wise as a first step in the remedial treatment to refer the case for further examination by a specialist. The usual types would be the psychological examination, including the administration of an intelligence test, a psychiatric examination, neurological examination, special examination of the functioning of the glandular system, and examinations of the special senses.

Correction of physical defects. The physical condition of the child is always the first factor to be considered in effecting remedial treatment. If a child's health is in any way below par, an attempt should be made to raise his physical efficiency as the first step in remedial treatment. The physical machine should be put in good running order as a prerequisite for the satisfactory adjustment of that machine. The counselor should see that physical defects are corrected and that good habits of personal hygiene, including diet, exercise, rest, sleep, fresh air, proper habits of elimination, care of the teeth, and so on, are followed. Under this same category should be mentioned correction of speech defects, which are a decided handicap in the case of a number of children and are frequently responsible for difficult problems of adjustment that a child must face.

Guidance through environmental control. Environmental changes are probably the second type of remedial measures to be considered. Wherever some phase of the environment is found to interfere with good habits, proper adjustment, or desirable attitudes, an effort should be made to change the environment. This can be done in some cases by shifting the pupil from one environment to another. In other cases where it is not possible to move the pupil, it may be possible to change the environment in which the pupil has to live. The most important part of the pupil's environment is the home, and the school has some obligation through parental education to attempt to correct harmful attitudes of the parents toward their child.

It is impossible to list here all environmental changes that might be needed in individual cases. So far as the school is concerned curriculum and classification changes rank high in importance. Some pupils, as we have said, may be aided by a change to courses which are more in harmony with their interests or which present an opportunity for them to try something at which they can be successful. A change of teachers is what is needed in other cases. Sometimes a pupil who is misgraded and is attempting work in a class which is too difficult for him or which does not provide him with sufficient challenge to meet his maturing abilities may be helped by a shift to a higher or lower grade or section.

Less frequently a change of schools would be advisable. Some pupils, however, would be helped by changing to a school in a different environment in the city, others by changing from public to private schools or from private to public. For older pupils a change to a school offering special types of work may be suggested.

Still another type of environmental control consists of closer supervision in and about the school. Better supervision of the study hall, the library, the playground, and the lunch room may serve to raise the school morale and enable pupils to make better adjustments.

More closely allied to the work of the classroom is supervised study and the remedial work with individual pupils. Often pupils are not able to obtain the help that they need during the class hour, and these pupils can be aided by individual instruction or by careful supervision of their studying. In such individual work, however, the emphasis should be more on teaching the children how to work than on aiding them in specific tasks.

Certain pupils who have formed bad habits of work can be aided by careful check-ups of their tasks either daily or weekly. Close liaison with the home in these check-ups is also helpful, and in the case of some pupils periodical reports sent to the homes with regard to the quality of the pupils' work will be found valuable.

Finally, better relations between the home and the school, either by conferences with the parents at school or at the home by the visiting teacher, may lead to a better understanding by the parents of what the school is trying to do and the methods it uses and in this way may bring about better attitudes on the part of the pupil toward the work of the school.

Work. Often a child who is maladjusted needs some task which will give him self-confidence and make him feel that he has a place among his fellows. Some children can profitably secure part-time work out of school hours as an aid toward stabilization. There are normally a number of opportunities for obtaining part-time work outside of school hours in the afternoon or on Saturdays helping in stores or garages, caring for young children, doing light forms of housework, or even working in factories. The summer presents still other opportunities. In recommending that a pupil find part-time employment out of school hours, one should always make sure that the work is not degrading or too confining, and that it has a certain amount of educational value. Pupils should be discouraged from attempting so much part-time work that it interferes with their health or with their school studies.

Social experiences and recreation. Every child needs a normal social environment in which he can play and obtain needed recreation. It is the duty of the school to provide opportunity for social activities. There is every reason for establishing a virile extracurricular program in the school, including clubs* and athletic activities, to provide recreation and normal social life. Many schools have established clubs for fostering dramatics, athletics, music, debating, dancing, and the like. Those responsible for guiding pupils into richer social and recreational experiences should also be acquainted with the resources in the community for social participation and be ready to advise a pupil with regard to these organizations.

Teacher attitude and understanding. The attitude of the teacher is an important factor in a pupil's mental health. The school psychologist should therefore attempt to help teachers to gain a more sympathetic and understanding attitude toward the pupils who are problems in their classes. Teachers need to learn the art of genuine praise and encouragement and how to provide for responsibility as important ways of helping pupils to gain satisfactory life adjustments. Teachers should cultivate such qualities as sympathy, patience, and firmness, which may lead to better understanding of pupils and their problems.

In meeting the needs of a problem child praise should be given where it is due, but it must be sincere. Every problem child needs some one who can be a true friend to him, and the teacher can well take this part. Many children fail to receive due encouragement and stimulus, and teachers frequently overlook opportunities to make suggestions which will kindle the spark of ambition in those who need it. Teachers should make special endeavor to provide tasks giving responsibility or opportunities for leadership to those who need this incentive. Often children who have problems have not been given enough opportunity to plan their work, and in the case of problem children opportunity to plan their work in school is of special importance. Sometimes daily or weekly reports will be found of help not only as a check on a pupil's keeping his promises or fulfilling his obligations, but also in maintaining intimate contact with the school. The presence of poor morale in a classroom as a whole indicates a need for a change in methods of teaching. Any teacher who wishes to effect a change in a problem child should give as little attention as possible to misdeeds and should substitute understanding for thinking ill of the pupil.

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* McKown, H. C. — *School Clubs. Their Organization, Administration, Supervision and Activities;* The Macmillan Company, 1929.

Home control and discipline. Most important of all is the quality of home control and discipline. Many parents need to give more attention to their children's needs and interests. In some homes a stricter form of control would be desirable, with better supervision of leisure-time activities. In other homes the form of control may be too strict and parents should give their children more freedom to make mistakes if necessary but at least provide the opportunity to learn self-control and responsibility.

In almost every case where the home is responsible for pupil delinquency it will be found that there is need for greater parental understanding, affection, sympathy, and kindness. Parents should refrain from comparing a child to his disparagement with his brothers or sisters, as such invidious comparisons have been found in a number of cases to be the root of the child's problem tendencies. Some parents should learn to treat their children as befits their age and permit them to grow up rather than to continue to treat them as they did when they were babies. A child needs some opportunity for privacy in the home and every child should have a place in which he can keep his toys and other materials where they will not be molested by others in the family. In general, it can be said that parents should permit a child to follow to a greater extent his own interests and to have a larger opportunity to make his own choices. Parents should recognize and fully face the facts with regard to their child's ability and govern their own ambitions as well as guide the child's ambitions in the light of his abilities. Parents should not be too censorious of school failure nor force the child to continue through school longer than his interests and abilities seem to warrant. On the other hand, a child should be permitted to finish school if he wishes to do so, particularly if he shows interest or talent in any particular direction. In helping the child to maintain his self-respect the importance of proper clothing which is clean and modish should also be recognized.

Sometimes problem children are found who come from homes where the control and discipline are lax. In such homes the child should receive more attention and better supervision should be given to his leisure time, particularly in the evening. Such homes need help in planning a more regular regimen of daily activities. In the case of money, children should receive a regular allowance which is not greater than their needs require, and some attention should be given to teaching the child how to spend as he grows up. Children should be encouraged to be thrifty and to save for a definite goal where possible. Studies indicate that children in general are supplied with too much spending money.

On the other hand, certain homes are too strict and this overzealousness on the part of parents creates problems of a different type. Some parents need to learn to overlook small matters. The home should be made a place where the child feels free to invite his friends for play and recreation. Often children from such homes need to be given spending money; and even though the amount is small, every child should feel the security of a certain amount of money which is his to do with as he pleases. Rather than create in a child habits of deceit, parents should extend permission to their children to dance, go to motion pictures, go out with the " gang," and when maturity is being reached to smoke — activities which, if not carried to extremes, are harmless but satisfy real cravings.

Often where needed changes cannot be effected in a home it may be necessary to change the home environment, although this should be used as a last resort since no environment can really take the place of the good home with its affection and security. Sometimes a summer camp affords the needed relief from the inadequacies of the home during the year. Sometimes a brief visit to a grandmother or an aunt will be of help. As a last resort advice may be given that the boy or girl be separated from the family and placed in a foster home.

Personal guidance. Lastly, the changing of attitudes toward the various problems and issues of life may be brought about by various forms of advice, persuasion, or argument. Many psychologists would tend to lay primary stress on so-called psychotherapy, which attempts to remold a person's mental horizons and give his life new direction. More specifically the teacher can redirect a pupil's attitudes by setting before him high ideals and ambitions and encouraging and stimulating him to worth-while activities.

First among the various devices for changing the attitudes may be mentioned the imparting of information. Schools have set up elaborate guidance services for providing pupils with information concerning educational and vocational opportunities as well as information concerning health, recreation, sex, money, and various matters pertaining to tastes and standards. This information may be given through formally organized classes or less formally by means of discussion groups.

Teachers have an obligation to stimulate pupils to new interests, to suggest new hobbies or sports, and to arouse ambition looking forward to college, vacations, marriage, travel, and the like. Every growing boy and girl needs sound advice with regard to his or her reading. Children should be encouraged to face issues squarely and to abide by decisions made until their possibilities have been thoroughly tried out. Such advice given in an earnest spirit is usually welcomed.

Many pupils become problems because of false reasoning which they believe and act upon. Following are some sample syllogisms which represent the kind of reasoning which often leads to definite problem behavior:

My father, who is now in jail, is a bad man.
I must be like my father.
Therefore I must be bad.

There is insanity in my family.
Insanity is inherited.
Therefore I am going to be insane.

I am Jewish while my teacher is Christian.
Jews are not given a fair chance by Christians.
Therefore I do not stand a chance to pass in class.

My brother is intelligent, an honor student, and a credit to the family.
I am unlike my brother; I am a dumb-bell and a discredit to the family.
Therefore I can be nothing but a failure.

My father is a careless and unreliable person.
My mother says I am just like him.
Therefore when I am careless and unreliable at school I cannot help it, because I am just like my father.

These will serve as examples of the evil influence of false reasoning. As these syllogisms have been stated, the first premise is the minor premise and is true as a matter of fact. The second premise, which is the major premise, represents an incorrect or false generalization. It is not necessarily true that a boy must be like his father, that insanity is inherited, or that racial discrimination always applies to individuals in all situations. The conclusion, of necessity, is false; but since it is believed, it tends to be acted upon. Frequently in studying a stubborn problem case in the school some false belief is found to be the root of the trouble and is responsible for the troublesome behavior.

Finally, mention should be made of psychoanalysis, a technique for helping a person discover repressed and unconscious conflicts which are responsible for his attitudes and behavior. Psychoanalysis employs free association, as we have said, and the interpretation of dreams. It usually consumes several weeks of daily interviews between analyst and patient, during which the patient is encouraged to express himself freely in any direction his fancy may dictate and is guided in interpreting his free associations in terms of their unconscious origin and the development of his complex. *Psychoanalysis* is not a term to be carelessly bandied about in respect to any form of individual analysis. It is a technique in which few people have become skillful, and it is not recommended that those who read this book attempt what may be called psychoanalysis without learning the art from some recognized authority. Cases that stubbornly resist all other remedial measures and which seem still to be of functional origin should be referred to a reputable and recognized psychiatrist, mental hygienist, or psychoanalyst for further diagnosis and treatment.*

PROBLEMS AND EXERCISES FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why must remedial work, to be successful, be preceded by a thorough case study?

2. Why is change of environment basic to a reorientation of mental attitudes?

3. Why is an attempt to influence a pupil through " talking it over with him," personal suasion, and the like almost certainly doomed to failure?

4. Elaborate the statement, " In the attempt to help a pupil to reorganize his mental patterns there is danger that he will develop a morbid introspection." When is introspection morbid?

5. Do you know of instances where pupils have faced about and adopted quite new attitudes or forms of behavior

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* The reader who wishes to learn more about psychoanalysis is referred to the following popular discussions:

Freud, S. — *General Introduction to Psychoanalysis;* Horace Liveright, Inc., 1920.

Klein, M. — *The Psycho-analysis of Children;* W. W. Norton and Company, 1932.

Rank, O. — *Modern Education;* Alfred A. Knopf, 1932.

as the result of some striking incident in which they became inspired or frightened? Is this sudden shift the usual way in which pupils change their behavior?

6. What can schools do to change parents' attitudes? Make a list of the avenues that schools have of influencing homes.

CHAPTER XVIII

ADJUSTMENT OF THE TEACHER

In a discussion of mental hygiene of school children one should not fail to consider the mental hygiene of the teacher. The teacher and pupil are two poles of human relationship in the school situation. Part of the pupil's problems of adjustment arise from the fact that through the school day he must deal with the teacher, who also has her own problems of adjustment. So the pupil's problems of adjustment are complicated by the fact that two individualities with different habits and tensions and complexes must mutually react upon and somehow learn to become adjusted to each other. Every teacher presents problems of personal adjustment which are as troublesome and annoying as those of the pupil himself. Part of these are the results of habits of long standing which were acquired in the teacher's own childhood and home situation in her struggle through school and college to gain an education, to secure recognition, to maintain her place and position in the educational world, to make adequate sexual adjustments, and to develop a satisfying life plan. To group all these factors and tendencies together under the heading of personality merely covers up the nature and cause of the particular forms of adjustment that the teacher faces. It is worth while therefore to pause to consider typical problems of adjustment that teachers face, their methods of meeting these problems, and how these methods react in turn on the children who are in their charge.

Teachers should become aware of the peculiar difficulties that they are apt to meet and of the typical errors that are made in meeting them. In this chapter is an elementary discussion of some of these difficulties and methods of adjustment. Every teacher should try to become sensitive to her own patterns of adjustment.* The wise teacher should be able to observe her own problems and her methods of meeting them and judge as to their adequacy. Whether or not an individual has ability to plan, willingness to sit down and face her problems anew and decide upon a sound and rational way of meeting them, and strength to carry out plans made are the crucial issues.

The supervisor also should not only consider the teacher's techniques of teaching in the classroom but be aware of the teacher's problems and the attempts that the teacher is making to adjust herself to her work. One of the most important services that a supervisor can render in helping a teacher to improve in her work is to interpret the teacher's behavior in the light of her adjustment problems and to recognize her modes of behavior as mechanisms for making adjustment to the various problems that must be met in the course of the day's work.

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* See *Character Education*, Chap. XI, Tenth Yearbook of the Department of Superintendence, National Education Association, 1932, for a further discussion of the characteristics of a good teacher.

Wickman, E. K. — *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes;* The Commonwealth Fund, 1928, contains a sympathetic treatment of the relations between teachers and pupils.

See Schohaus, W. — *The Dark Places of Education;* Henry Holt and Company, 1932, for case reports of teacher maladjustments.

Perhaps the most frequent adjustment that the teacher must make is to her own lack of teaching skill, which may be due to insufficient preparation, to lack of experience, or to difficulties in understanding young people. This is not the place to enumerate the different types of faults that may be found in the teaching process. It is sufficient to mention them all together under the heading of inadequacies in teaching. These are sometimes easily recognized by the teacher, but often the teacher is not fully aware of them and her method of meeting them is in many cases somewhat unconscious. The teacher who would correct these imperfections in teaching must consider them as problems to be solved or as habits to be corrected and replaced by more adequate skills. The wise teacher studies her own errors, makes plans for meeting similar situations more effectively another time, and constantly strives to do her work in new and better ways.

Poor methods of meeting these deficiencies in teaching can be grouped largely under the heading of compensation. Teachers will attempt to compensate in various ways for their obvious errors and defects in teaching by defending themselves, by substitutions for what they lack, or by " drawing a herring across the trail " and diverting attention to something more favorable concerning themselves. One method is that of bullying, domineering — adopting a severe, harsh attitude toward the class. Some men teachers adopt a tough attitude as their only method of keeping discipline. Other teachers become very strict and do not permit children to whisper or even turn their heads. The teacher who is exceedingly strict, permitting no disorder in the classroom and punishing severely any breach of discipline, may be suspected of using these tactics in order to cover up real deficiencies in her teaching procedures or in her ability to work with children and to maintain normal friendly relations with them. The teacher may adopt a harsh voice, speak sharply to children for small infractions of the rules, inflict punishments on children for very slight misdemeanors, all as a method of protecting herself against the criticisms that she feels to be due her for her deficiencies. Any teacher who adopts " the king can do no wrong " attitude or who is harsh and domineering in her manner may be suspected of having taken on that attitude originally as a means of self-protection.

Compensation may also take the form of sarcasm, which is frequently reported as a weapon to use against defenseless children. Many a teacher who has poor methods of control maintains her authority over the class by passing cutting remarks and wounding the feelings of innocent pupils who she fears may challenge her authority.

Reference has already been made to bullying, which serves as a protective device on the part of the teacher. I have watched a teacher exercise discipline by bullying those under her; she invariably picked out the youngest and smallest members of the group upon whom to inflict her sharp tongue, her stern looks, and her threatening manner, while older boys who were perhaps more disorderly would remain unnoticed.

Still another method of maintaining one's position and protecting oneself against recognized inferiority is maintaining the " always right " attitude. Usually this is adopted by teachers who feel inadequate as to preparation in the subject matter. They fear that the class may challenge them on some point in the lesson and recognize their own inability to discuss the issues that might arise. Such a teacher therefore maintains a positive, authoritative position on all topics. She strives to give the impression of " knowing it all " to cover up real feelings of weakness in knowledge of the subject.

Finally this compensation for recognized defects may take the form of a hypercritical attitude. The teacher will establish exact standards of work, will not accept anything that has the slightest blemish, will criticize children for very minor faults, perhaps in punctuation or grammar, and in that way will cover deficiencies in real thinking. Such teachers maintain their positions with their classes by constant criticism of pupils and their work and thereby do harm to the pupils by failing to give the much-needed praise and encouragement that should be part of the atmosphere of every schoolroom.

A different type of compensation is the substitute or escape reactions by means of which a teacher attempts to avoid the realities of the situation, however difficult it may be, in which she finds herself. A teacher, for instance, may adopt this compensatory mechanism by courting the esteem of pupils in the class, or by showing favors to special members of the class, or by attempting to be popular with either boys or girls. One teacher, for instance, who lacked popularity among his fellow teachers, attempted to compensate for being misunderstood by his peers by seeking popularity among the boys in his classes. Such a teacher, if a woman, may have a crowd of boys hanging around her desk during recess time or, if a man, may be seen talking to a crowd of girls in a high-school corridor, definitely encouraging these attentions from pupils. Such attentions are often courted with pupils of the opposite sex and indicate that teachers use this method to gain certain satisfactions that are otherwise denied them.

In this same group of mechanisms is the practice, always looked down upon by students, of showing favoritism and partiality. A teacher knowing no other way of justifying her position will show favoritism toward certain students. Often the desire to be popular, to be recognized, to be admired cannot be satisfied from the class as a whole because the teacher has certain qualities that are not admirable. She therefore attempts to court desired attention and admiration by showing special partiality to certain students. This is likely to go to the length of not " playing square " with children, of allowing certain pupils who make good recitations and do excellent work in class, who are pretty and attractive and come from good homes, to escape with less censure and criticism than children who cannot do the work as well, who are less attractive, who come from poorer homes, and who therefore cannot bring the teacher the same amount of attention and self-gratification.

Another method sometimes employed is that of being excessively methodical in one's work. Here is a teacher who makes a great to-do about reports, who keeps elaborate records of pupils' work and of their credits, and who wants to jot down some sort of mark for every recitation and for every piece of work that is turned in to her. Another must keep the classroom in immaculate order. Everything has a place and must be in its place at all times. A teacher may adopt this methodical attitude to compensate for a feeling of insecurity. These teachers not only are methodical themselves but insist on pupils' being equally methodical in their work, in caring for materials, and in observing the rules of the classroom. A certain amount of method is to be desired; but when this is carried to a pathological extent, it is evidence of a neurotic tendency.

Still another method used to hide deficiencies in subject matter is that of discussing personal experiences. Some teachers cover up their ignorance by verbiage. They talk on at length as a subterfuge to avoid displaying their lack of ability in the real topic of the lesson. For instance, a certain teacher with a reputation for being easy, who rambled on during the class hour talking of inconsequential matters, constantly referring to himself and his exploits, had previously been state geologist and had taken up teaching as an alternative when he was removed from his position for incompetency. Frequently children recognize this weakness and, in order to avoid meeting their commitments, will purposely lead the teacher off on side issues during the recitation, provided they can depend on the teacher's launching himself into long discussions or descriptions of his own experiences.

A similar method sometimes employed by teachers who attempt to escape from the realities of their work is that of killing time. Feeling unprepared and incapable of stretching the lesson to cover the class hour, such a teacher introduces various side issues, brings up trivial topics, and discusses small points in connection with the lesson as a method of escaping from the realities of the class period.

Nervousness is a characteristic of many teachers which cannot have anything except a bad effect on the children. In fact, caricatures of teachers usually picture a nervous, high-strung individual who is constantly on a hair trigger, ready to fly off into some sort of invective on the least provocation. There are probably many reasons why teachers are nervous. It must be admitted that handling a group of thirty or forty active and energetic children is a task that requires a good deal of fortitude, and unless one has exceptional tact and skill there is apt to arise a certain amount of tension and strain. It is probably true, however, that many teachers are nervous because of their own unfulfilled desires and cravings. Some teachers are single women and the strain of unsatisfied sex life probably accumulates and may account for some part of this nervousness. Nervous teachers are extremely sensitive to any kind of disorder in the class. One teacher, for instance, was much annoyed by having a child cough and would stop whatever she was doing until the offending pupil stopped coughing. Nervous teachers keep their children on edge. The children tend to adopt the patterns of behavior that the teacher presents to them day after day, and with a nervous teacher children also take on nervous mannerisms, sensitiveness to unpleasant happenings in the classroom, and the like.

A nervous teacher should study her own situation, frankly facing the facts, and try to ascertain the underlying causes of her condition. Where nervous tension is avoidable, steps should be taken to remedy the situation. Perhaps efforts can be made to gain control over her conditions of living, or changes in the hygiene of living will help to reduce the tension and strain that produce the high-strung and nervous condition which is harmful to the pupils who must submit to it. A visit to a physician might help.

Other mechanisms commonly displayed by teachers have the appearance of being regressions to childish or infantile behavior. Jealousy, while not peculiar to teachers, is an emotion which may interfere with their efficiency. One teacher, for instance, may be jealous of another teacher who has a higher salary, a brighter class, or a more favorably situated classroom. This jealousy of other teachers in the school may take the form of objecting to doing anything outside of the classroom teaching for fear that she may have more than her share of work. Jealousy usually interferes with normal adjustments and, instead of permitting a person to approach tasks and obligations with enthusiasm, makes one suspicious, hesitant, and inhibited.

Another similar mechanism that looks very much like regression is the temper tantrum or what approaches a temper tantrum. Teachers, to be sure, often are exhausted by continuous strain of the classroom situation; but when this leads to violent displays of temper, slapping pupils, pulling pupils' hair, severe punishments, shouting, and other similar aberrations of behavior, there is evidence of a pathological condition. This may have a physical basis, and the teacher who resorts to such extreme forms of reaction to annoyances may be suffering from fatigue or glandular unbalance. On the other hand, this may be a reaction frequently made in the past to situations in which the teacher has not had her own way and is her last resort as an attempt to control classroom situations. Such reactions are evidence that the teacher has failed in her understanding and sympathy with the pupils and is resorting to emotional and emergency methods of control.

Similarly, teachers will show regressive behavior by becoming sulky or by displaying hurt feelings. A teacher may say to her class, " I never thought you would do this to me," thereby appealing to the children's sympathy and good sportsmanship in an emotional way as a means of control. Again a teacher may become sulky and sullen after some mild criticism of her work on the part of a supervisor or parent. This irrational and emotional regressive form of behavior may last for hours or days. During such periods teachers will refuse to be friendly with anyone and will speak to their pupils only in a most distant manner.

All similar forms of emotional disturbance displayed by teachers represent wrong methods of meeting difficult situations in connection with teaching. Instead of trying to understand children's behavior, to determine its cause, and to meet the situation in a sensible and rational way, forced emergency and emotional methods are only too frequently employed. They represent failure for the teacher, and unless the teacher is able to gain control over herself and approach her problems more objectively such methods spell defeat.

Then there are a number of types of behavior which seem to represent nothing more than poor habits of work. Often they represent poor life adjustments which are of so long standing as part of the individual's method of meeting daily situations that they have become an integral part of the personality. For instance, here is the teacher who evidently lacks interest in her work. Her teaching is of the most routine character. Preparation for the next day's work is slovenly done. Correction of pupils' papers is postponed and often omitted altogether. Such a teacher seldom looks up additional material and consequently must adhere closely to the textbook during the class hour. No one should go into teaching unless he has a definite liking for the work, a liking that is not a temporary phenomenon but one that will persist year after year. For any teacher the work of teaching offers unlimited opportunities for growth and expansion. The problem of living with and guiding growing children has never been completely solved, and one can always continue to grow in its skill and technique.

Similar to this is the laissez-faire attitude on the part of the teacher. Such a teacher permits the children to do practically what they wish. If the children wish to settle down to the task of the day, they are given little encouragement. If on the other hand they are slow to get started with their work, if they play with other materials during the lesson, they are allowed to do so. Interruptions to the class work are readily permitted, and the children can easily divert the teacher's attention to almost any extraneous interest.

Another bad habit that some teachers have is that of giving their children too much help. Such a teacher will actually prevent children from learning because everything is done for them. Whenever examples, for instance, are to be explained, the teacher does the explaining. Perhaps a pupil will start with the explanation of a problem and will hesitate or make some error. This teacher will immediately take up the explanation at the point where the child has made the error and will finish the problem for him. She is apparently more interested in getting the problems solved and the work accomplished than she is in showing pupils how to solve their problems themselves.

The contrary practice of some teachers is that of not giving sufficient help to pupils when it is really needed. When a pupil meets an obvious difficulty and seems unable to make progress with his work, the teacher shrugs her shoulders, casts aspersions on his ability, repeats the same question — does, in fact, everything except to give the child the help that he needs to solve the problem successfully. Good teaching must strike a balance by giving sufficient help of the right kind yet not taking away from the child the responsibility for learning. It is no virtue to force children to struggle unnecessarily with difficult tasks. Learning takes place best when it occurs most easily and fluently. Children need guidance in the steps that they must take in every stage of the work. Dull children need particularly to be shown one step after another in their work and to have the cues pointed out by which they can learn to recognize the procedure that is to be followed in future similar situations.

Another bad habit of teachers is inconsistency. The inconsistent teacher creates difficult disciplinary problems with her class, and attitudes are built up on the part of pupils that are not completely dispelled for years afterwards. One teacher, for instance, may be very friendly with a group and permit the class to become quite informal with jokes and wisecracks freely expressed and laughed at. On the next day this same teacher may become severe and strict, permitting no levity in the class and reprimanding children harshly for any infraction of strict order. Another may have a sharp tongue and continually whip and lash the children with sarcasm, only to turn about and become sugary and sweet when some stranger steps into her room. Children can tell immediately when a stranger is crossing the threshold by the change in this teacher's attitude from severity to sentimentalism. Another teacher, who is addicted to smoking, finds it necessary to leave his class frequently to indulge in a cigarette. If on his return to his class, however, he finds disorder, he upbraids his pupils sternly. Inconsistency of this kind, in which at one moment a class is left with no restraint whatever only to find itself severely criticized for disorder a few minutes later produces nervousness and irritability on the part of the children, particularly if they are unable to sense the cause for the sudden change in attitude. One might say that a whole class is made neurotic by inconsistent behavior on the part of the teacher.

There are other miscellaneous types of mechanisms that teachers display that do not fall into sharply cut categories. One frequent form of reaction is a form of repression. Some teachers become easily shocked by what they imagine to be serious offenses on the part of the pupils. Such a teacher is usually suspicious and will fix blame on pupils on the least pretense and often with insufficient evidence. Boy and girl crushes in the student body are suspected as incipient or actual cases of sexual behavior. Such teachers are always on the lookout for sex offenses; they will be the first to observe obscene writing on the school walls and will suspect children of damaging property, of stealing, and the like. They cannot understand especially the modern girl who smokes and drinks and who goes about freely and unchaperoned. This Mrs. Grundy attitude represents in almost every case some form of repression on the part of the teacher. It is usually explained in psychoanalytic literature as a desire which the individual holds but which is repressed through the pressure of social conventions, the influence of parents, and the like, and which exhibits itself in the form of projection whereby the thing that is wished for is suspected in other people. Persons who are easily shocked at others may be suspected of harboring deep-seated but unfulfilled desires themselves.

Finally, teachers may exhibit personal peculiarities which markedly interfere with their success as teachers. In most lists of teacher characteristics voice has an important and prominent place. Voice fundamentally is an insignificant part of the equipment and skill of a teacher; yet a disagreeable or weak voice can quite spoil an otherwise successful career. Sometimes a teacher fails because her voice is so weak that pupils have difficulty in hearing her distinctly and the necessary force is lacking to hold their attention. On the other hand, there are some teachers with voices like strident foghorns, possessing a disagreeable tonal quality that continually grates on the ears of children.

Again, teachers may adopt little habits that annoy. In stating reactions concerning their teachers, one class of pupils was almost unanimous in reporting that the teacher disgusted them by picking her nose before the class. This was reported so frequently that it was evident that it was a fixed habit rather than a stray occurrence.

These descriptions of teacher mechanisms have emphasized the unfavorable side of teachers' behavior and personality. In other places in this book the attitudes of the successful teacher have been thoroughly discussed. The successful teacher is one who approaches her work in a thoughtful, sympathetic manner, who is tolerant, fair, and consistent, and who meets difficult situations as problems to be solved deliberately rather than as isolated situations that must be handled immediately. The skillful teacher is continually attempting to get the best out of her class by genuine praise and encouragement, by holding up before the children worthy goals and standards, and by expecting honest attempts to meet these standards. The successful teacher is one who is not annoyed by children's carelessness, restlessness, and desire for fun but who goes more than halfway to meet the children in their own interests and points of view. Such a teacher is one who enters upon her task earnestly and devotedly, not primarily as a means of satisfying her own needs, but to have a share in guiding the development of growing children.

Likewise, a supervisor of instruction must always be a supervisor of teachers, for one cannot divorce techniques of instruction from the personality and behavior mechanisms of the teachers who give this instruction. The technique of helping people to meet their situations more wisely is difficult and must often be indirect. The successful supervisor is one who can help teachers to analyze the difficult situations in which they find themselves and can show ways of studying children and of learning to know the meanings of little symptoms of behavior. Most teachers cannot be expected to eliminate unfortunate methods of meeting their problems by their own unaided efforts but must be led to improvement by suggestions and helpful analyses. No one can be a good supervisor unless he can analyze the classroom situation better than the teacher herself.

PROBLEMS AND EXERCISES FOR DISCUSSION

1. What can a supervisor do to help a teacher make better adjustment to her work?

2. How can a teacher learn which particular forms of adjustments she is making interfere with her work and her success?

3. If a teacher recognizes some defect in her teaching skill, such as a tendency to make excessive assignments, failure to gain the coöperation of her class, or incurring the antagonism of some particular pupil, how should she go about correcting her fault?

4. What qualities in a teacher do pupils most admire?

5. How does excessive emotion tend to handicap a teacher?

6. Most teachers resent criticism, and yet it is only by becoming aware of their own shortcomings and deficiencies that improvement can take place. What suggestions can you offer to a teacher that will enable her to take a more objective attitude toward her own adjustments?

CHAPTER XIX

ORGANIZATION OF MENTAL HYGIENE IN SCHOOLS

Finally, let us survey the way in which the mental-hygiene work of schools may be organized.* In the first place, inasmuch as mental hygiene is so intimately bound up with the whole school program, it is inadvisable that it be made a separate department in the school or that it have a formal organization bearing that name. Principles of mental hygiene should permeate the work of the classroom, the organization of the curriculum, the placement of pupils, and the establishment of extracurricular activities. If the mental-hygiene work of the school is to have separate existence at all, it will be in connection with the study of the problem pupil. It should be reëmphasized, however, that this should not become the focus of mental hygiene in the school inasmuch as it represents the negative rather than the positive aspect of mental hygiene.

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* The actual ways in which this work is organized in school are legion. Perhaps this is a good symptom, as out of diverse experience the best ways of meeting the problems will be precipitated. For a discussion of the forms of organization actually in operation or recommended see:

Character Education, Chap. X, Tenth Yearbook of the Department of Superintendence, National Education Association, 1932.

For the guidance point of view see:

Koos, L. V., and Kefauver, G. N. — *Guidance in Secondary Schools*, Part IV; The Macmillan Company, 1932.

Jones, A. J. — *Principles of Guidance*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1930.

Discussions of more inclusive organizations are the following:

Fenton, N. — " Administrative Aspects of a Mental Hygiene Program in the Public Schools," *School and Society*, 36 : 391–394, September 24, 1932.

The School Health Program, section on " Mental Hygiene in Schools," 61–82, Report of the Committee on the School Child, White House Conference on Child Health and Protection; D. Appleton-Century Company, 1932.

The study of the problem pupil should become a part of the guidance service of the school under the direction of a specially and adequately trained psychological counselor. There is some question as to whether such a service should be centrally located within a city system or should be attached to individual schools. It is believed that, when psychological counselors and visiting teachers are considered a part of a school staff, the mental-hygiene work of the school has a much more integrated character than when these individuals are consultants who travel from one school to another according to the need. In large schools there should be at least one psychological counselor for every twelve hundred to fifteen hundred pupils in an elementary school and for every five hundred or six hundred in secondary schools. The classroom teacher is in a position to contribute much to successful adjustment of problem cases, and the carrying out of the plans and proposals of the counselor will eventually depend upon the degree to which the teacher becomes interested in the work and assumes responsibility for it. In this sense a counselor's primary function is that of supervising and organizing the guidance work of the teachers, assuming as his special function the study of problem cases.

The visiting teacher, by establishing contacts within the home and the school, is able to bring about a great deal of helpful adjustment directly. However, the responsibility for viewing the problem as a whole should fall upon the counselor.

Administrative officers and teachers are also necessary for carrying out the program of mental hygiene. The dean or assistant principal should be responsible for matters of discipline. The counselor's function is that of studying cases, formulating programs, and giving advice; the actual responsibility for carrying out recommendations is administrative. The dean or assistant principal should take charge of the social life of the school. There should also be teachers who are specially trained to undertake remedial teaching in the elementary school or to take charge of the study program in the high school. Special arrangement must be made for giving vocational information and for developing the orientation courses in which new values and inspiration are provided through discussion. If the counselor's program is not full, he may be able to devote part of his time to this work, but preferably a teacher of occupations should be in charge.

In a large-city system there may also be a centrally located clinic where most difficult cases can be sent. In this clinic there should be available a psychiatrist who can deal with cases of organic malfunctioning or severe pathological cases of psychoses or neuroses.

This machinery for the study of problem children should always be sensitive to the particular needs of the situation. A certain amount of routine is necessary, but above all one must remember that in studying and making provisions for individuals it is important that the work should not be reduced to a mechanical routine but retain a flexibility and freshness of viewpoint which will take care of the infinity of individual wants. Finally, the whole school should work together in the interests of each child. No phase of education is more significant in the present generation than the development and maintenance of the mental integrity and health of each individual child.

PROBLEMS AND EXERCISES FOR DISCUSSION

1. Discuss the question of teaching the principles of mental hygiene to pupils in junior high school. To pupils in senior high school. To college students. Are there any dangers? What values does the understanding of principles of mental hygiene have for you?
2. Outline the training desirable for a psychological counselor in schools.
3. What part should the classroom teacher have in the mental-hygiene program in schools?
4. Discuss the psychological counselor as a supervisor of teachers.

CHAPTER XX

SELECTED CASE STUDIES

In the following pages will be found six case studies of pupils in the junior and senior high schools. Often case studies are presented as representing certain types. It is the writer's belief, however, that persons do not readily fall into classified types, but that the combinations of the elements that make up personality are indefinite in number. The pupils reported are representative of pupils who present problems in school, and one will recognize in them similarity to pupils that may be found in any school.

If a classification were to be attempted a grouping by environmental differences might be most illuminating. In the following cases are examples of pupils with good and also with poor intelligence. Most of these pupils are having difficulty with class work; but one girl, Rachel, has a satisfactory school record. Some of the cases illustrate the effect of homes with control that is too strict, others where it is too lax. One illustrates the difficulties that a pupil of foreign parentage faces. Two cases illustrate the result of invidious comparisons which parents make of children in the same family. Two cases show the result of careless and dirty homes. One case illustrates the difficulties faced by a pupil with personal disfigurements. These are merely offered as samples, however.

It is to be regretted that in only one case was follow-up possible, so that we are not informed for five of the cases of the success of the remedial measures which were initiated.

These case studies were all made by principals or teachers who have not had much experience in making such studies. They represent the kind of case study that can be made by any teacher. In many ways these studies are imperfect. Since they were not made by the same person and were not conducted under standardized conditions, some studies will present gaps in the evidence which is necessary for a complete understanding of the case. Usually a case study made by a psychologist will contain more data from objective tests, questionnaires, and rating scales. A variety of intelligence tests was used in obtaining the I. Q.'s as reported in these case studies, which makes close comparisons somewhat treacherous.

Few schools provide adequate physical or medical examinations, and in all these studies there is a weakness in the diagnosis on the physical side. Usually the investigators had to depend upon the amateur statements of the pupil himself or his parents or a second-hand interpretation of the physician's report.

The last section in each case presents a brief interpretation of the case. One observes from these case studies the limitations in reports of this kind. Frequently there are lacking essential data on which to base a sound interpretation. In each case an effort has been made to present the drives which seem to be thwarted and to interpret the pupil's reactions as mechanisms or methods which have been developed as ways of compensating for these thwarted drives.

Case No. 1. Name — Thomas ____
Age — 16 years
Grade — 11th grade high school
Intelligence-test score — I. Q. 124 on Otis Self-Administering Test of Mental Ability

School record.

7th-term English	F	History	F
3d-year French	C	Mathematics	F
Intermediate algebra	B	Physics	F

In this school *F* represents failure.

School report. Thomas has been class president in the past year and member of the service squad and officers' association; he is student assistant in the grade adviser's office.

His teachers report that he daydreams over his studies, that he plays with younger boys, whom he bullies, and that he is untruthful. He frequently comes to class late after gymnasium and occasionally cuts classes, writing excuses and signing his father's name. On one occasion when the teacher sent a test paper home to his parents by him, he brought it back with his father's name signed by himself. He has been found to have lied on several occasions, and one of his teachers expressed it by saying: " He seems to have the idea that whatever part he takes must be wrong, and he chooses to give his acts a favorable color in his reports. If he climbs a park wall rather than going through the gate (which is not a wrong thing to do), he will report that he went through the gate."

Family. His father is a Protestant minister. His mother was a teacher before her marriage. Thomas has three older half sisters, all of whom are college graduates and one of whom has a degree in music. Two of them have become teachers and one is a trained nurse. All of them are married. He also has one full sister, who graduated from high school when fourteen and a half and who, when a junior in a state university, at the age of seventeen and a half, eloped and married.

Appearance. Thomas is a medium-sized boy of slight build. His skin is smooth. He has a tendency at times toward a sallow complexion. Circles under his eyes which were noticeable before an appendix removal have practically disappeared. His hair is in good condition. The arches of his feet are fallen. He is quite untidy in his personal appearance, although as a small boy he was given clean clothes each day following a bath.

Physical condition and health habits. Thomas had mumps, measles, whooping cough, and diphtheria in childhood. He has undergone tonsillotomy. When twelve years old, he suffered for some time with chronic intestinal trouble, having vomiting attacks that would last for days. When thirteen years old, he had an operation for appendicitis and since then has had no return of the vomiting attacks. He has some antrum trouble and cannot tolerate a dusty atmosphere. The family has regular meals, in which the children participate. Thomas is extremely fond of pastries and candy. He drinks a quart of milk daily and has tea occasionally. He does not smoke.

Interview with pupil. As a small child Thomas was taught by his mother and did not enter school until the third grade when he was a little over six years old. He has gathered the impression that he is the " black sheep " of the family, and his family has made him believe that everything he does is wrong. He says that his failure is due to his wanting to show that he is not the " teacher's pet," as some of the " guys " accuse him of being. He admits that he has not been studying as he should have and states that he is making a mess of school. He seems to be blue and upset at his failure. At one time during his school career he was ambitious to graduate from Annapolis and to enter naval aviation, but this was very displeasing to both his father and his mother. Later a friend of the family encouraged him to take up medicine, and he has more recently been thinking of going to Johns Hopkins. Thomas works three hours on school days and eight hours on Saturday for a grocery store, delivering orders. He has over $150, which he says he has put aside for his college expenses. His tips, which sometimes amount to $2 a week, he uses as spending money.

He has some mechanical inclinations. When nine years old, he took his mother's Ford motor apart, cleaned the carbon, ground the valves, and reassembled the motor. He was so small at the time that he had to sit astride the motor to get at it. In science he does poorly, however. He is not interested in following the laboratory guide but prefers to tinker with the apparatus. He apparently likes to see what happens. He plays the cornet and the piano. He is somewhat artistic and admires pictures, decorations, and the clothes of others. He is a general favorite although he complains that he is a " boob " because he does not dance. He attends the movies at least once a week.

He is expected to attend church services on Sunday, but occasionally he plays with a group of children in a near-by park instead of going to services. On Wednesday evenings he participates in Scout band practice. At one time he was a member of the junior orchestra at school. He likes track and swimming. In the summer he has taken trips to the South with his mother and brother, and these he enjoys very much as he has an opportunity to get out on a farm and help with different kinds of farm work.

Interview with aunt. Thomas lives with his aunt. When he was ten years old, he became a great problem to his parents. He wanted to do all that an older boy usually wants to do; but this was tabooed by his father, who followed the dictates of the church discipline. This led to his becoming deceitful. He wanted to take up scouting, to go to the movies, to learn to dance, and to have freedom to play a great deal of ball and other games with boys of his own age. His parents would have been happy to have him play very little. His aunt goes out to work several evenings a week, so that she is not able to keep a close check on Thomas' activities. He frequently goes out in the evening to the movies or to the homes of his friends but denies it to his aunt when he is asked what he has done in the evening.

Interpretation. Thomas presents a clear case of what happens to a boy who is brought up too strictly and who has been denied the satisfactions which a normal, healthy, red-blooded boy craves. In this case the strictness led to deceit, and Thomas evidently not only learned deceitful habits and tricks, but was also so constantly made to feel that what he wished to do was wrong that he felt a sense of shame or guilt at much that most people would not consider wrong or bad at all. The effect of his early teachings persists at the present time, and his excessive daydreaming and failure to apply himself to his work may be interpreted as a direct effect of the conflict which the early suppression built up in him. Without doubt a constant struggle is going on to avoid the deceitful tendencies, which still persist as methods of escape when he is faced with any critical or difficult situation.

Probably in his new home he has more freedom and less supervision than would be desirable. Thomas illustrates the need that every child has for a wise middle course between too much strictness on the one hand and too much freedom on the other. Personality is best developed by a certain amount of freedom combined with wise advice and patient guidance.

A wholesome social atmosphere in the school with plenty of social recreation, some one teacher who can patiently point out to Thomas the necessity for facing issues in life openly and frankly and who will again and again help him to overcome his tendency toward deceit, and a task at which he can be successful and which will monopolize his attention are the means by which the school can help Thomas win better adjustment.

Case No. 2. Name — Herbert ____
Age — 17 years
Grade — 9th
Course — General
Intelligence-test score — 87 on Terman Group Test of Mental Ability

School record.

English	V. P. (very poor)		
Science	V. P.	Drawing	B
History	V. P.	Physical training	B

Herbert has been enrolled in high school for two and one half years and is still a member of the freshman class. In the first two semesters he failed in every subject except physical training.

School report. Not only has he failed to do satisfactory work in his subjects, but he has also given his teachers much concern by inattention and mischievous ways in class. He has habitually failed to do his home work. The following observations were made during a visit to one of his classes: " He slumped in his seat through the recitation period. He spoke to boys across the aisle and in front of him fourteen times during the period. He tore a piece of cloth from the cover of his notebook. He laughed aloud when some other pupil made a mistake in his recitation. He tapped continuously with his pencil on the desk. He whistled several times audibly. He gave attention to the class discussion only intermittently. At the close of the class discussion the teacher asked him for a criticism of the discussion, and he appeared at a loss to know what to say. The bell saved him by ringing the end of the period."

Personal appearance. Herbert is of normal weight and height for his age. He is a rather nervous, excitable boy with long hands sticking out from under his coat sleeves and fingers that are always nervously active. He has a hunted or frightened look, and it is with difficulty that he faces one directly or raises his eyes to meet the person with whom he is talking.

Family. Herbert has one brother, two years older, who has been a consistently good student throughout his school career and is now in the last year of high school. The father is a pipe fitter who works very hard and is seldom at home. The mother is a high-strung, nervous woman who has high blood pressure and is frequently ill.

Physical condition and health habits. When Herbert was six years old, his parents noticed that his head drooped to one side. A physician consulted by the family recommended a brace, which Herbert wore for two years. No diagnosis was made of the condition. Since the school does not give thoroughgoing physical examinations to pupils, nothing more is known of his physical condition.

Reputation with other pupils. A classmate reported that Herbert was popular with many of the boys in his class because he was good at turning jokes.

Interview with pupil. Herbert talked very freely during the interview concerning his activities both in and out of school. He said that drawing and biology were the school subjects in which he is most interested. He is ambitious to become a commercial or advertising artist. He is fond of pets and spends much time playing with and caring for his pigeons and fish, having recently completed building a large aquarium. He attends the movies about once a week and said that he was most interested in gangster and war pictures. His family is Roman Catholic and Herbert attends early mass. Although seventeen years old, his sexual interests do not seem to go beyond telling a few dirty stories occasionally. His reputation in this respect was verified through other sources. He reads *Popular Mechanics* regularly and *Collier's* occasionally. He does not do his home work regularly, remarking, " I get lazy and say to myself that I will do it tomorrow." At the beginning of the school year he obtained a position after school in a fruit store which he held only two weeks as his father did not want him coming home late at night. His father is very strict about his being out at night. He retires about 10:30 P.M.

Home. The family own their own home in a newly developed but undesirable section of the city.

Interview with mother. During the interview the mother was extremely nervous and at intervals broke down weeping. She constantly referred to the older brother, emphasizing the fact that he had always given the family so much to be proud of and had always done so well in school. She seemed to be ashamed of Herbert's school record and remarked several times that she wished he could be more like his older brother. Herbert's father insists that he must finish high school and tells him that, unless he gets a high-school diploma, he will have to work as hard as he (the father). Recently when Herbert threatened to quit school and get a job, his father became quite upset. Herbert at one time secured a job in a garage, but his mother would not permit him to accept it, telling him that after spending two years in high school he should have a better job than oiling cars. She remarked, " Herbert is a very affectionate boy and my pleadings with him seem to cause him to do better at times." Herbert's mother said that frequently, when she mentions his home work, he says that there is no assignment or that he has been able to finish his work in school.

Interpretation. It is rather evident that Herbert's health is not the best because of the nervousness and restlessness that he exhibits. The motor disturbance which led to his carrying his head to one side when younger may still be present as an influence. He should have a thorough medical examination.

The fact that Herbert has a reputation for telling dirty stories has not been sufficiently explained by the facts presented. It is difficult in a first interview to obtain adequate data as to sexual irregularities, interests, and perversions in a pupil. Often there is an area that remains hidden in this region which leaves one at the close of the case study feeling that there is much to be explained; this would seem to be the case with Herbert in the present study.

Two points with reference to the home situation deserve emphasis. One is the constant unfavorable comparison with his brother to which Herbert is subjected. This is certain to make the boy feel inferior. Much of Herbert's conduct can be directly traced to his attempts to justify himself and secure feelings of confidence and security. The other point to be noticed is the mother's overindulgence coupled with her highly nervous condition. Even though both parents are exceedingly anxious for their son to finish high school and the father checks up on him rather carefully at times, habits of regularity and thoroughness in doing his work have not been built up.

The school should enable Herbert to engage in some activities in which he can find success. Possibly he should be shifted into a curriculum in which concrete materials are utilized and applied. He should be given a chance to try out his interest in drawing to see if there is any real talent there. With such a low score on the intelligence test it is probable that he will not be able to finish high school, and his parents should face that possibility and make the best plans possible in the circumstances. Certainly the parents are not helping the situation by taking the attitude that school success is the only kind of success that has any real worth, and that with a high-school education he should not have to work with his hands. His disciplinary infractions have been on the whole minor and insignificant and, if he could take subjects that would definitely interest and challenge him, his attitude might be decidedly different. A teacher in the school who could understand him, sponsor him, and take a genuine interest in his progress would be a great help in this case.

Case No. 3. Name — Anthony ____
Age — 15 years
Grade — 7 B junior high school
Intelligence-test score — I. Q. 73 on Haggerty Intelligence Examination

School record.

English	D	Drawing	D	Arithmetic	D
Geography	C	Conduct	D	Effort	D
History	C	Physical training	C	Attitude	D

In this school a mark of *D* is considered equivalent to failure.

He participates in no school activities.

School report. Anthony's teachers complain that he fools his time away in class, that he is erratic, doing good work one day but being far away in thought the next, that he is a general nuisance, that he is impudent and disrespectful, that he talks aloud in class, and that he grumbles aloud of his grievances and is frequently sulky. One teacher states that he "gets her goat," and that she can hardly tolerate him in her class.

Appearance. Anthony is an Italian boy, small for his age, five feet, one inch in height, and weighs eighty-six pounds. Three years ago he fell and knocked out two upper front teeth, of the lack of which he appears to be quite conscious so that he draws his lips down when he laughs. This gap in his teeth also gives him a lisp in his speech. He wears thick glasses for nearsightedness.

Family. Anthony is one of an Italian family of five boys and girls. His father died of tuberculosis in his thirty-ninth year when Anthony was less than two years old. The mother then married a laborer who had come to this country at the age of seventeen. The stepfather is without even a full elementary-school education. He is a hard worker and is in good health. In general he is kind to and considerate of Anthony. The mother is nervous and very irritable. She has had an elementary-school education. Since the children are now of such an age as no longer to require her constant presence at home, she works in a dress factory, leaving home at 7 o'clock in the morning. Anthony has one brother, nineteen, who is a laborer. There are three sisters, one, aged seventeen, who works in a factory; one, aged twenty-one, who is in a tuberculosis sanitarium; and one, aged twenty-three, who is married and also a factory worker. The family is trying to pay off a mortgage on their home. The married sister lives at home, separated from her husband, and she also contributes to the support of the family.

Physical condition and health habits. Anthony had several of the children's diseases but apparently with no after affects. When he was one year old, he was operated on for tubercular glands. He complains of headaches occasionally. As a child he presented an enuresis problem, and his mother took him to a clinic for advice on this condition but did not follow the advice. The only meal that the family eats together is the evening meal. Anthony gets his own lunch, which his mother leaves out for him. He drinks Italian wine for supper and has tea or coffee at other meals. He smokes occasionally. He goes to bed at 10 o'clock every school night.

Reputation with other pupils. Statements given by other pupils include the following: " Is the biggest pain in the whole school," " Picks on children smaller than himself," " Hits and knocks pupils," " Is fresh," " Silly," " Stupid," " Bully," " Grinning ape," " Makes fun of others."

Interview with pupil. The pupil stated frankly in the interview that he had no intention of finishing junior high school but expected to leave school as soon as he became sixteen years of age. He has already filed an application for a position as messenger boy with the Western Union Telegraph Company, and he has had his summer working papers made out.

In going over his daily schedule he stated that, although he is called by his mother at 7 o'clock, he does not get up immediately and often has to be called again. After school he plays with the children in the neighborhood. Most of them are younger than himself and he enjoys acting as a leader, or perhaps *ringleader* would be a more accurate term. They often play in a swamp near the railroad tracks, where they search for snakes or frogs or play at "cops and robbers." Anthony is captain of a baseball team which they have formed. He goes to the movies about every two weeks and attends a Boy Scout meeting every Tuesday evening. As part of his home duties he has to chop wood every night after school, and on Saturdays he frequently goes to the beach for driftwood. He spends little time in reading but occasionally reads cheap detective stories or looks at movie magazines. His sexual interests are not developed as yet, and still he stated that he is afraid of girls.

Anthony said that he has his own way at home. His stepfather is kind to him but pays little attention to him. His mother scolds him at times when she becomes discouraged with his failure in his school work. He stated that his parents are not anxious for him to continue in school but want him to leave school as soon as possible so that he can go to work and help support the family. He has little spending money, and what little he has he must earn himself by running errands.

He stated that his teachers tend to pick on him and, if he does not understand a question, they often snap back at him, which causes him to lose interest in his work. He stated that teachers seem to live in an entirely different world and do not seem to him to be human. None of them seems to take any interest in him, and he admitted that in this interview he, for the first time in his school life, was able to express himself freely. He is ashamed of his clothes and believes that this is one of the reasons that his teachers are " down on him." He also believes that, if he had better clothes, he would be better liked by the other pupils. He would like to earn money to be able to buy better clothes for himself. When he is with smaller boys, he sometimes smokes and swears to show them that he can do what he wants and to make an impression on them. He admitted that he does not enjoy smoking. He would like to draw, but his drawing teacher never gives him a chance at drawing of a kind that he thinks he can do.

Home. Anthony lives in a home in the Italian district. Both English and Italian are spoken in the home. The mother speaks Italian almost wholly, the father somewhat broken English; the children generally tend to speak English among themselves. The *Daily News* is the newspaper taken in the home, and on the table in the living room were seen cheap detective stories and movie magazines. The radio is constantly on when anyone of the family is at home.

Interview with mother. The mother stated that, when Anthony was two years old, he was placed in a Catholic home and remained there for five years until she married again and could provide a home for her whole family. She said that, when young, the child was punished a great deal, often cruelly, in order to break him of the habit of bed wetting while he was in this home. Because he had been disciplined so strictly, she felt sorry for him when she brought him out of the home and allowed him to do practically as he pleased. He had always been shy and quiet in his early years and did not play or talk much with other children. He had never been known to steal and told the truth except when he felt he had done something that it was necessary to cover up. He fears that he will be taken to the police court if he commits any misdemeanor.

Interpretation. The first point to be noted in attempting to understand this boy is his evident lack of physical vitality, probably due to poor nutrition and undernourishment. In attempting to make a readjustment in this case the first objective would be to secure for him a more adequate diet. If the home realized the importance of this, perhaps he could have better food at home or some aid could be given through more adequate lunches at school. Anthony should also have instruction in more healthful living. The history of tuberculosis in the family should be taken seriously, and any recommendations should recognize the possibility that a similar predisposing weakness might be present in Anthony's constitution.

This is a picture of a boy of low mentality from a home of inferior economic status who is not able to obtain the normal sense of security and self-respect which is necessary for adequate adjustment. He feels himself to be different from the other children in his classes, partly because his family is Italian, partly because of his facial disfiguration due to the missing teeth, partly because his clothes are shabby and torn, and partly because of scholastic difficulties. This has led him to believe that he is despised and considered inferior by pupils and teachers in the school. Because he believes himself to be inferior, he tends to act the part; and his tendency to make fun of others, to bully smaller children, to show off, and to be impudent in school is his natural reaction in response to his beliefs and his attempt to defend himself against his feeling of inferiority. It is probably true that his teachers do ignore him and fail to make friends with him.

The most helpful thing that could be done for Anthony would be to enable him to gain his self-respect. The school could do a great deal for him if his teachers could be made to realize the conditions under which he lives and how he could be helped. Standardized tests should be given to make sure that he is in the grade and section for which he is best fitted in school. He should be encouraged to attempt tasks at which he can be successful, and he should be given a chance to be successful in something in school even though it be outside the regular school curriculum. There should be made acquainted with the facts concerning Anthony's background some one teacher who would sponsor him, show him the sympathy and understanding which he at present lacks, and take genuine interest in his progress. Since he is anxious to work after school to earn money for better clothing, an attempt should be made to find employment for him that would help him spend his out-of-school hours more profitably.* Home conditions may be such that not much can be done toward giving him a better sense of self-respect; but if the mother could be made to understand that her boy has possibilities which are not being realized because he has not been given the opportunity to realize them, it might be that she would take a more intelligent attitude toward seeing that he obtained some sort of vocational preparation before leaving school.

His low I. Q. indicates that he will probably not finish high school, and that serves as all the more reason why he and his parents should plan definite vocational training so that he will be prepared to do something when he finally leaves school.

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* Recent developments resulting from the National Recovery Act make part-time employment even more difficult to obtain than formerly. There is every indication that this trend toward excluding boys and girls under eighteen years of age from remunerative employment will continue. This makes it all the more imperative that society be aware of the problem of maintaining the self-respect of such boys as Anthony.

Case No. 4. Name — James ___
Age — 17 years
Grade — 11th, senior high school
Course — Smith-Hughes vocational cabinet making
Intelligence-test score — I. Q. 96 on Otis Group Intelligence Scale

School record.

Plane geometry	70	Intermediate algebra	75
English (repeated)	76	Mechanical drafting	75
Elementary algebra	78		

He had previously failed in cabinet making and was transferred from that to mechanical drafting. He expressed a liking for geometry. He takes no part in school activities.

Marks in this school are expressed in terms of per cent. A per cent of 70 or more is a passing mark.

School report. He is considered a problem by all his teachers. They state that it is difficult to keep James at an assigned task. During the shop period he prefers to work at fashioning model airplanes, disregarding the warnings of his teachers that he should prepare the assignments. In the mechanical-drawing classes he destroys pens and other equipment and disturbs others at work by threatening them with sharp drawing instruments and by pinching and punching them and by throwing spitballs. His drawing teacher submits the following memorandum: " He is of no use to himself or anyone else. He just sits and dreams. The minute my eyes are off him he is annoying those about him. Here are a few of his stunts when my back is turned: shooting paper clips and paper wads, wiping black pencil filings on the clothing of other pupils, placing thumb tacks on the seats for other boys to sit on, sticking sharp points of compasses in the legs and arms of near-by pupils, marring a drawing by shooting paper clips through it. He upsets the place."

Family. James is one of a family of eight children, seven of whom are living at home. James's father is about forty-five years of age and is a mechanic who has been unemployed since the closing of the manufacturing plant in which he worked. Previous to his marriage he was in the navy and made a cruise around the world in 1906. Both parents are native-born but of German extraction. Of the children, John, aged nineteen, left school before the end of the ninth grade and has never been able to get regular employment. Jane, aged sixteen, is in the eleventh year of senior high school doing satisfactory work and in the evening works as a cashier in a moving-picture theater. Harry, aged fourteen, is in the ninth grade of the junior high school and is also a problem. Helen, aged thirteen, is in the open-air school with a slight lung infection following scarlet fever. Charles, aged eleven, is also in the open-air school with a lung infection caused by measles. Mabel, aged nine, is in the fourth grade but at present ill with pneumonia.

Physical condition and health habits. James is in fairly good health at the present time and has had few of the contagious children's diseases even when other members of the family were ill with them. He has had adenoids since childhood, but nothing has been done to relieve this condition because of the poverty of the family. An examination by a physician revealed no physical disability; heart, lungs, blood pressure, and glands were normal. The teeth were very unclean, with cavities. Adenoid growth has affected his speech. Sexual development had advanced, but circumcision did not seem necessary even though his mother had urged the matter. His body was in a most filthy condition. He sleeps eight or nine hours a night, sharing a room with his older brother. He suffers from frequent colds.

Interview with pupil. In the interview James stated that when younger he was interested in locomotives and had a desire to become a locomotive engineer. Later his interest turned to airplanes, particularly after the Lindbergh flight. He now spends practically all of his spare time drawing plans for planes, constructing models of toy planes, reading all the books and articles about them which he finds available, and visiting the local airport. He belongs to an airplane model-making club sponsored by a local department store. He also joined a club called " The Young Eagles of America," sponsored by a man who is interested in the sale of airplane-model-making materials. James spends almost all of his spare time in this club in the basement of the home of its sponsor. He is business manager of the club and plans its parties and programs. Regular meetings occur twice a week in the evening. James has been up in a plane several times.

James attends the movies occasionally, whenever his uncle, who operates a theater, will permit his entrance free. He tries to select airplane pictures. He can talk at length about different types of planes and apparently has shown intelligence in observing them. In recent months he has read such books as *Roping Lions in the Grand Canyon*, *West Point Cadets*, *Wings*, and *Red Knight of Germany*. He obtains these books at home or from friends. Although he has a card at the library, he has not used it for two years.

James attends Sunday school regularly and keeps the record of his class; he takes pride in helping to maintain 100% attendance. He does not belong to the Boy Scouts and claims they are too rough and disrespectful. A year ago he was mistreated by a gang in his neighborhood. James associates exclusively with boys younger than himself. He takes some pride in his nickname, " Colonel." He plays a harmonica with fair skill. He owns a bicycle, to which he has given the name " Hezekiah " and which he uses to visit his aunt, who lives thirty-five miles away. He has also taken several long hitch hikes. He has a few home responsibilities, such as taking turns with his brothers and sisters in washing the dishes in the evening, helping to cart ashes away, carrying garbage to the dump, and keeping the furnace fired.

The family has no more than average friction. James seems to admire his father and prefers to confide in him. He looks on the father as the " boss " of the family, who administers no beatings but frequently deprives him of privileges as a punishment. From his statements it would appear that the family is very improvident, easy-going, and happy-go-lucky. Financial difficulties made it necessary for them to " junk the flivver." James makes a few dimes a week by pulling ashes to the dump in a cart for the neighbors. During the interview he talked fluently and was very communicative.

Home. James lives in a brick house located in a row in a crowded district. At the time of the visit the street was torn up for the installation of sewage mains and the porch was covered with clay. From the outside the house presented an untidy appearance. Upon entering one noticed an unpleasant odor. Furnishings had been of good quality but were quite soiled and worn with hard usage. The dining room was a picture of chaos, with clothing piled upon chairs, dirty dishes on the table, and the doors of the buffet partly open. The radio was on during the entire visit, playing loud jazz dance music. The kitchen, which could be seen through the open door, was in the same chaotic state as the dining room.

Interview with mother. The mother appeared to be somewhat nervous and her appearance was decidedly slack and untidy. She tended to smooth over James's school difficulties and reported that he did not present any serious problem behavior defects at home. When he stays out late, she deprives him of some of his privileges. She stated that he was never quarrelsome and submitted to authority at home but admitted that he was not punctual about doing tasks about the home and showed little spontaneity in its upkeep.

Interview with aunt. James's aunt takes much interest in his welfare. She furnishes all his clothing, gives him spending money, and frequently invites him to dinner. She has tried to teach him care of his personal appearance and cleanliness. She is concerned about his unusual interest in airplane modeling and wants to broaden his interests in other directions.

Interpretation. James's behavior in school is undoubtedly a direct result of his irresponsible home environment and regimen. This laxness gives him a feeling of physical, mental, and social inferiority and insecurity. This is indicated by his crude attempts to gain recognition and by his failure to associate with boys of his own age. His intense drive in the development of airplane models apparently is an attempt to gain distinction to compensate for his feeling of inferiority. This also may explain his talkativeness and his disorder in class. His withdrawal from boys of his own age may be in part a desire to defend himself from persecution. Using his bicycle to take trips by himself into the country, where he said he can get away to " peace and quiet," is evidence of his tendency to escape reality.

His interest in airplanes, although superficial and in a sense childish, is a basis for helping him to gain self-confidence and to broaden his interests. He was transferred in school from cabinet making to drafting, partly to put him with a more sympathetic teacher who could encourage him in airplane designing and watch for the development of his interest in allied lines. He was also encouraged to develop social contacts in the school clubs. The vice principal of the school took a personal interest in him when he learned of the circumstances of the case.

A year later his personal appearance had improved. His clothing was cleaner. His face was clean and his hair was combed. This led to a normal expression of interest in the opposite sex and he made the voluntary admission, " I have been going with a girl now." Visits to the homes of his chums had helped him to raise his standards. For instance, he observed, " Things have to be just right in Joe's home." Joe is the son of a teacher in the local college. This increase in self-respect must be preliminary to better work in school. The family is planning to move to a neighboring city, and it is quite possible that the entire change of school and possibly of home environment will enable him to make a fresh start and improve his previous record.

Case No. 5. Name — Samuel ____
Age — 17 years
Grade — 10 A
Course — College preparatory
Intelligence-test score — I. Q. 125 on Otis Self-Administering Test of Mental Ability

School record.

English	C –	Geometry	F
French	D	Social studies	D

He belongs to none of the school clubs and does not participate in any school activities unless he is given a leading part.

The failing mark in this school is *F*.

School report. Uniformly his teachers report that his work in school is unsatisfactory. He comes to class with lessons unprepared and fails to give attention to the progress of the lesson during the hour. Comments from various teachers are: " The boy is terribly spoiled "; " Mother's baby "; " Headstrong "; " The boy is good looking and knows it "; " Spends more time with the girls than is natural "; " Beautiful but dumb "; " Refuses all suggestions which are constructive concerning his work."

Appearance. Samuel is a boy of medium height, five feet, eight inches tall, and weighs 145 pounds. He is active and has a good physique. He wears clothes of the very best materials and cut, always neatly pressed, with a tendency toward flashy ties and sweaters. His hair is slightly wavy.

Family. Samuel is the only child in the family now living. The father is an engineer of some prominence, has been in charge of the construction of several large office buildings, and has originated several principles in steel-building construction. He is a member of a national engineering society and has been an officer in the association. The mother is a somewhat nervous woman. She keeps a number of servants in the home, and the furnishings of the home show rather expensive tastes. The parents belong to several social clubs and entertain extensively.

Physical condition and health habits. As a child Samuel had the usual children's illnesses, including measles, chicken pox, mumps, and whooping cough. His physical examination shows no physical defects of any kind. His appetite is normal, and except for irregular habits of sleep his health habits are on the whole good. He smokes cigarettes and frequently enjoys a pipe during the evening in his father's den. He goes to bed regularly at 10 o'clock on week-day nights but on Friday and Saturday frequently remains out until midnight or after.

Reputation with other pupils. The boy's character is best described by the nicknames and epithets that have been given him by other pupils in the school, which include: "sheik," "the handsome guy," "sissy," "poet," "social leader," "a good dancer," "the wonderful lover."

Interview with pupil. During the interview Samuel showed a rather restless and nonchalant attitude. He said that at home he usually studies alone or frequently obtains assistance from his mother. He cares very little for any of the subjects that he is taking in the school and seems to have no particular fondness or liking for any of his teachers. When younger he made up his mind to become a mining engineer, but his plans have shifted several times through the years in the junior and senior high school. At present he has no particular ambition to complete school. He engages in no school activities and does not go out for school athletics. During the week he is usually at home in the evening but on week-ends he goes to the movies, occasionally goes into the city to the theater, or attends dances or parties of various sorts. Since his father is superintendent of the Sunday school, he attends Sunday school fairly regularly. Frequently, however, according to his admission, he sits in the church balcony long enough to be seen by his parents and then skips out and goes off with a group of young people. He enjoys watching athletics when in the company of girls, particularly if he is given a chance to explain to them the various plays. He admits reading cheap magazines, which he obtains at cigar stores or in a neighboring pool room. He claims to have a large number of girl friends and boasts that he had ridden through several crushes. He does not continue keeping company with the same girl more than a few months at a time. He is extremely popular at dances and at beach parties. He says that he enjoys entertaining his girl friends with a few boys at the homes of various girls, which enables him to put on the " ritzy strut," as he terms it. He takes pride in narrating his associations with girls and confides that he has been making collections of silk handkerchiefs, strings of beads, necklaces, and lingerie.

Home. The family lives in an exclusive residential district. The home is a two-story brick structure with oil-heating system, electric refrigeration, baby grand piano, oriental rugs, and the like. The family has lived a long time in its present residence.

Interview with father. The father was considerably concerned over the boy's failure in his school work and particularly over his associates and pranks after school and at week-ends. The father had considered sending the boy to a private military school, where he could be placed under a strict set of rules and regulations and where he would be away from the mother's influence. However, the mother had not been willing that the boy should leave home. He admitted that he had never punished the boy in his life and seldom reprimanded him, leaving the control of the boy to his mother, who objected to any criticism that was made of his behavior.

Interview with mother. The mother admitted that she had always taken a great deal of enjoyment and pride in bringing up her son. As an infant she had given him several extra baths each day, admiring his beautiful head of hair. Her philosophy was that a boy is young only once and should be permitted to do the things that he wants to do, and she has protected him against the father's suggestions regarding his discipline and behavior. Although the boy gets a regular allowance from his father, his mother gives him extra money, sometimes even more than the father gives him.

Interpretation. The boy is, without doubt, capable of making a success of his high-school work and, if he desired to, could easily prepare himself for any college of his choice. His behavior, which is marked by an expression of desire for attention, particularly from girls, is probably due to the overabundance of attention that he has received from his mother from infancy up. Without doubt his mother has so babied and pampered him, giving him approval for childish, smart, and " cute " acts, that he receives satisfaction from obtaining similar approval from anyone that he can induce to observe and listen to him. Since he is popular at parties and dances and has acquired the knack of amusing others by his antics, he sees no need for participating in clubs or athletics or doing good school work. As long as the boy remains at home and can obtain the satisfactions he has enjoyed and as long as he remains in school and is not made to feel responsible for progress through school, it would be extremely difficult to create in him other satisfactions. When opportunity arises, some one from the school who thoroughly understands the home situation might explain to the mother the harm that is being done to Samuel by continuing to use him to gratify her own desires. Were it possible for the boy to be removed to another environment where other standards of success were upheld, where there were responsibilities which he must necessarily assume, after a period of readaptation he probably could learn adjustment to new conditions of living. It might be possible to convince the mother of this and show her the necessity for limiting his allowance, for urging on him the necessity for succeeding in school, and for forcing him to accept certain responsibilities for providing or caring for his clothing or other personal effects. The school could perhaps stimulate in him an apparently latent interest in working with machinery.

Follow-up. The boy left school soon after this study was made and attempted to work as a salesman, leaving home and rooming in the Y. M. C. A. in a neighboring city. His habits were so lax, however, and, because he had never realized the necessity for endeavor, his sales were so small that he was asked to resign his position. He next attempted work as clerk in a store and later turned to selling real estate. Each time, however, he failed. After a year of such experiences he apparently began to see the value of further education and returned to high school, where he completed the work during two winter and two summer sessions. He then entered a state university in a neighboring state. At present his work has improved and he seems to be destined to complete the university course. The father's decision to permit the boy to leave school so that he could demonstrate for himself that he was wasting his time was a wise one, and his experiences away from home gave him a changed perspective as to the values in life. Such a plan has its dangers and difficulties, of course, since much depends on the friends and companions that are acquired away from home.

Case No. 6. Name — Rachel ——
Age — 14
Grade — 9 A, junior high school
Intelligence-test score — 125 I. Q. on McCall Multi-Mental Intelligence Scale

School record.

Latin	80	English	88
Algebra	70	Science	85
History	93		

She has always made good grades in school, except that last year the mark in gymnasium was 65, owing to a dispute with a teacher about handing in a notebook.

School report. " A perfect devil let loose," was the comment of the home-room teacher. " I cannot bear the girl," said the music teacher. Other comments were: " She thinks she is better than the other pupils around here"; " She thinks she's the whole thing"; " She likes to argue and show off." The English teacher's report was, " A very intelligent and interesting girl." In her citizenship marks one teacher gave her *excellent*, two *good*, one *medium*, two *poor*, and one *very deficient*. In coöperation one marked *excellent*, one *good*, four *poor*, and one *very deficient*.

Most teachers considered hers a case of conceit, " big head," and desire to be in the limelight. In a class meeting she made a ringing speech to the effect that every classmate should be loyal and participate in an operetta. Later when the disgruntled who did not wish to take part were given a chance to leave the meeting, she was the first to walk out. Some teachers thought this was because it would call attention to herself. Others believed that she walked out because she had not been given one of the leading roles.

Appearance. Rachel weighs 104 pounds and has a figure that may be described as " stylishly slender," good color, and more than the average amount of energy. She is dressed better than average. Her clothes are always in good taste, modish without being flashy, well fitted, and never shabby.

Family. Rachel's father and mother are separated; the father lives in California and the mother in New York. Rachel is at the present time boarding with a family. Although her uncle insists that the people she boards with exercise considerable control over her, the fact is that Rachel can come and go very much as she wishes. She has an older sister, who is a model child without behavior problems and so bright in school that she entered high school at the age of eleven. The sister has always been held up to Rachel as an example, and she has been told, " Your sister would never do that."

Physical condition and health habits. Her physical report showed teeth containing cavities. The report also showed a slight irregularity in the teeth. They had been wired for about a year in an attempt to straighten them.

Interview with pupil. Rachel said that she had always liked history but that her liking for other subjects depended on the teacher. She is very fond of reading and stated that her favorite book is *Les Miserables.* She said that she had lived in so many different places that she could hardly remember them all, having made four changes of residence since she entered the seventh grade. Her good mental ability, however, enabled her to make normal progress through school. " All my life," Rachel said, " I have lived in apartment houses. I used to think that it would be wonderful to live in a house where I could play in the yard." For the past two years she has lived with her grandmother, but her grandmother is eighty-two years old and is no longer able to keep her. Rachel is now boarding. She revealed that she was fonder of her mother than of her father. She has never been ashamed of her mother, but she indicated that she was not altogether proud of her father. She regarded her mother as a very self-sacrificing woman and believed that she had had an unhappy life. Her father seemed to her to be a very strict and stern man. " If I ever have children," she said, " I would not whip them if they were girls. If a girl has not much spirit and you whip her, then she gets meek and does not develop any initiative; but if a girl has some spirit, you make her stubborn and mulish. Another thing I would never do, I would never compare one child with another." Rachel stays after school frequently to talk to friends or teachers. Her bedtime is 9:30 P.M., but she frequently goes to bed earlier. She attends the movies about once in two weeks. Formerly she took piano and dancing lessons. The latter she enjoyed very much. She has been to nearly every kind of church except a synagogue. Church attendance has never been forced upon her, and if she does go to Sunday school, it is entirely voluntary.

Her future plans are vague. Her family intends to send her to college, but she seems to be somewhat skeptical concerning the value of a college education.

Interview with uncle. According to the uncle, Rachel's father is a man of great ability but poor habits. He is addicted to gambling and although he has held good positions he cannot keep them because of his bad habits. Rachel's parents quarreled continually. When the family was broken up, Rachel was sent to live with her grandmother, who at the present time is eighty-two years old. On more than one occasion the parents would be reconciled and Rachel would go back to live with them, only to be forced to leave on a later separation. Her mother, according to the uncle, is Rachel's worst enemy, who, being prevented from having a normal home life, lavishes all her thwarted affections on Rachel, her youngest child. She has tried to humor all her whims. Until she was twelve years old, Rachel was never called anything but " Baby." From the time that she was four years old, Rachel completely dominated her mother and had her own way in everything. The uncle believes that Rachel's aversion to her father is due to the picture of her father that the mother has placed before her. The father's relatives, on the other hand, gave Rachel unfavorable ideas about her mother's people and the result was that she grew up with little respect for anyone. When she became stubborn, the father would whip her until she gave in. When in kindergarten she fought with other children and bit and pinched them. At the present time the official guardian of Rachel is the eighty-two-year-old grandmother.

Interpretation. This particular case shows what may happen as a result of an unstable and broken home. Rachel is a girl who has never found that security in her family life which should be the birthright of everyone. Although she did not lack affection from her mother, apparently she learned early in life how to get her own way with her mother and was able to dominate her. Her present desire to be in the limelight and to claim more than her share of attention is evidently her attempt to win for herself the attention and affection of others that she learned to receive from her mother. Observation shows that Rachel is very enthusiastic about school and that her school means more to her than anything else, probably because this is the one place that she feels is stable — where she can be secure and where she belongs. Her intelligence is such that she can easily make a success of the classroom work with proper encouragement. Anything that the school can do to give Rachel a feeling that she is a member of the group and that the school wishes her help and leadership would be more than rewarded by Rachel's response. In many ways she is a very sensitive girl and would respond to any mark of liking or affection shown to her. Rachel will undoubtedly have a good many difficult experiences in learning that domineering tactics (which she learned in getting her way with her mother) are not generally acceptable.

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